T H E S I S

presented by

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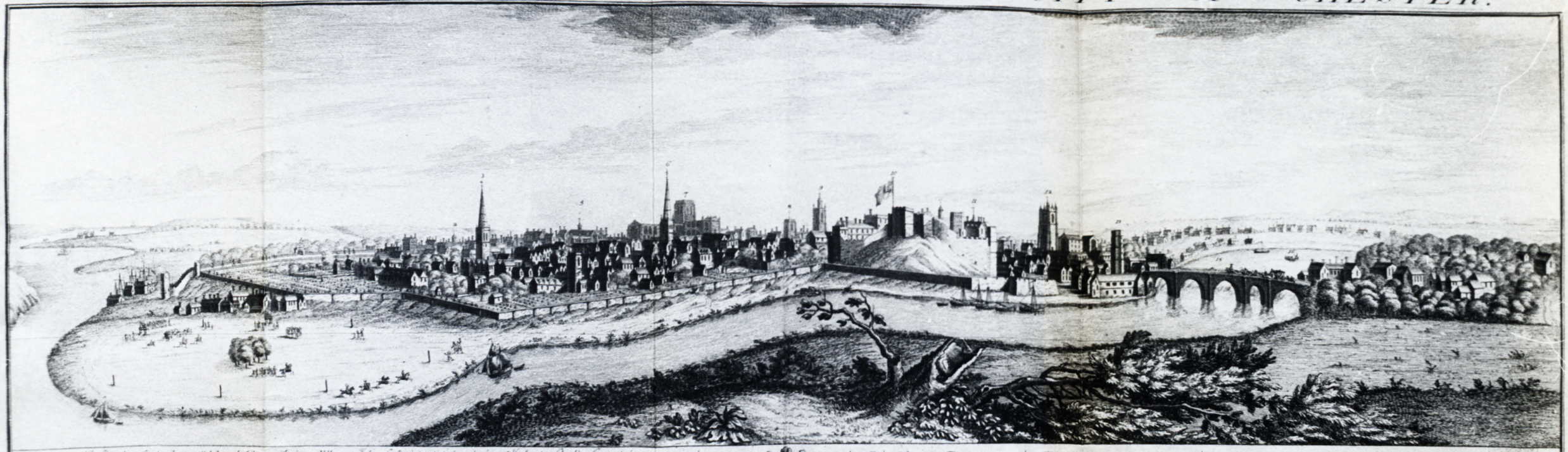
THE SOUTH WEST PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF CHESTER.



Chester, or Westchester, *said to be so called from the Roman Legions. When* n. *Julius Cæsar intended the reduction of Ireland, & Claudius Cæsar designd to surprise the Britains, they took up winter Quarters for them here. Hence Tacitus calls the Emperor settled here the "20th Legion called Victrix, under the command of* Titus Vitius *to be a barrier & check unto the Ordovices, which growing too head strong for him* Titus Vespasian *made Julius Agricola their Leaguer." It's probable that this Settlement of the Roman Legion gave birth to this City. And it is evident from the Inscriptions & Sculptur'd Stones found on & about this Site, with the names and titles of Julius Cæsar and several other Emperors, that the Legion, called Victrix was successively Quarter'd here, Who's Chief Triumphed here over the British Princes, & caused* Hannadius *K. of Scotland,* Madocus *K. of Northumberland, &* Maen *K. of Man, and the Isles, with all the Provinces of Wales, Scotia in it." S.to von him like Bargemen up the River Dee. This City is surrounded with a Wall two Miles in compass, which affords the delightfull walk all round. Said to be built by Ostfleta, that noble Mercian Lady, A.D. 906. The Streets are remarkable for their double rows of Shops, or Piazza's which screen you from the rain through most of the City. The present Members for this are Sr Rich.d Grosvenor Bart.t & Tho.s Grosvenor Esq.r*

J. & N. Buck delin. et sculp. 1728

1. The Town Wall.
2. Little St.t John's Church.
3. Trinity Church.
4. St.t Martin's Church.
5. The Town Hall.
6. St.t Peter's Church.
7. St.t Werburgh's Church.
8. St.t Bride's Church.
9. St.t Michael's Church.
10. The Castle.
11. St.t Mary's Church.
12. St.t John's Church.
13. The Water Tower.
14. The Bowling Green.
15. The River Dee.
16. Kings Edgar's Barge.

THE TRADE OF CHESTER

AND THE STATE OF THE DEE NAVIGATION

1600 - 1800.

The thesis aims to describe the trade of the port of Chester and the state of the navigation of the River Dee from 1600 to 1800, and to put forward reasons for the decline in the City's trade.

The thesis embodies facts and conclusions drawn from examination of unpublished documents in the City Archives and the Public Record Office, and contemporary printed books and newspapers. For the account of the City and its merchants considerable use has been made of the material in the City Archives, and the descriptions of the trade are largely based on a detailed study of the Port Books in the Public Record Office. Critical comments and reservations are made about the use of the Port Books as source material.

Part One of the thesis describes the City, the navigation of the River Dee and the hinterland. Part Two describes firstly, Chester's role in the organisation of the customs, and the Port Books as source material; secondly, the trade with foreign countries, Ireland and other ports of England and Wales; and thirdly, the assessment of the various elements contributing to the decline of the port.

Although considerable efforts were made to improve the state of the navigation, the City failed to maintain its importance as a port. This resulted from a variety of causes including the difficulties of the river. There was insufficient driving force to overcome these physical

difficulties. This was partly due to conditions in the City where the guilds, persisting until the eighteenth century, were a restraining influence on commerce, and partly to the small size and nature of the hinterland with which Chester had imperfect communications. The mid-Cheshire salt trade was lost to Liverpool and the coal and lead trade of Flintshire was largely remote from the City. Saltney Marsh was an important barrier separating the City from the mineral tract. The difficulties of the estuary were added to by the nature of the trade; bulky exports far exceeded the imports so many ships arrived in ballast which was jettisoned in the river.

In this way, the thesis presents a broad, geographical survey of the inter-relationship of the City, the River Dee and the adjoining hinterland area of Cheshire and North Wales from 1600 to 1800.

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C	Corn Market	17	Foregate Street
D	Shambles	18	St. John's Lane
E	Bridge Street .	20	New Gate
H	Old Cotton Hall	22	Love Lane
M	Watergate Street	23	Bakers Lane
N	Watergate	27	Common Hall
4	Bridge Gate	30	The Barrs
5	Handbridge	31	Boughton
6	Fulling Mills		

A Note on Place Names.

A variety of spellings were used for the names of places adjoining the Dee. The variations from those in present-day use have been retained in quotations and on the charts as follows:

Dawpool - Dorpole, Dalpool, Dawpoole, Dorpoole
Hawarden - Haden
Heswall - Heswell
Hilbre - Hilbree, Helbre
Hoyle - Hyle
Neston - Nesson

Abbreviations in the Footnotes.

The abbreviations are largely self-explanatory, exceptions being

Jour. H. of C. = Journals of the House of Commons

Add. MSS. = Additional Manuscripts.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Chester was the foremost port in the north-west of England and Wales. Two centuries later it had declined to insignificance, overshadowed by its neighbour, Liverpool. This decline is often explained quite simply as the consequence of the deterioration through silting of the River Dee. Although vigorous efforts were made by the citizens of Chester to recover and preserve the navigation of the river, these were unsuccessful and there is no doubt that the deterioration of the river was an important factor in the decline of the City as a port; but it was only one factor among several. These factors were of two categories: those associated with the physical and economic geography of Cheshire and the adjoining ports of North Wales; and the human elements, in particular the inability of the citizens to exploit the opportunities of their environment, and to overcome its disadvantages.

The site of Chester had been a favourable one when the Romans founded their legionary fortress on part of the present day site of the City, but the advantages of this site were less in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although the City was then well placed for trade with Ireland, and this was throughout the two centuries a keystone in its commerce, the site was at a grave disadvantage in respect of the main.

productive parts of Cheshire and North Wales. In the east, the broad expanse of Delamere Forest effectively isolated Chester from the northern and more important part of the mid-Cheshire salt district. After rock salt had been discovered there in 1670, the output and trade in salt rapidly increased. The salt was conveyed along the River Weaver to the Mersey and Liverpool. This route was convenient because of the cheapness of water transport and the facility for the boats to return loaded with Lancashire coal, the essential fuel for evaporating the brine. After 1721, the navigation of the River Weaver was improved. As a consequence, Chester had no share in the salt trade of Northwich, Middlewich and Winsford. In fact, Chester used to import rock salt through Liverpool although the City was only 18 miles from Northwich. To the west, the City was badly placed in relation to the mineral tract of North Wales. Near at hand, Saltney Marsh was a persistent obstacle to transport until the first effective road was built across them in the 1760s. Except for a short time between 1768 and 1775, when a shallow canal was in use, coal had to be brought to the City from pits at Hawarden and Aston in punts, or similar small craft up the river, or in carts and the panniers of pack animals crossing the sands of the Dee at low tide.(I) The main direction of trade in

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(I) R.Willett. Memoir of the Parish of Hawarden. Chester 1822. pp 102-103.

Flintshire coal was towards the Irish Sea and away from the City. Even in 1600 the coal pits at Mostyn were supplying coal to Dublin. Thus, cut off by Saltney Marsh the City was in fact remote from the Welsh coal trade, largely conducted by an alien people speaking another tongue. In 1692, the London Quaker Lead Company acquired mining rights in Flintshire, and vigorously set about building up the lead industry, which they prospered for the next hundred years before abandoning their Welsh interests and concentrating on their mines in Northern England. They produced a large surplus of lead for export. (I) In the eighteenth century lead and coal were the main bulky commodities shipped from the River Dee. But this trade could also be carried on without passing through Chester. (In this respect it was unfortunate that all the outports,(2) Burton Head, Neston, Parkgate and Dawpool were on the Wirral side of the estuary).

During the Middle Ages Chester had active craft guilds; but these did not later produce vigorous business men, industrialists or merchants who were able to acquire capital

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(I) A.Raistrick. Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare; the London Quaker Lead Company, 1692-1905. London, 1938.
(2) The designation 'outport' was also applied by the Customs Commissioners to all head ports, with subsidiary members and creeks, outside London.

and to establish firms employing large amounts of labour. The City companies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were composed of small employers, acutely aware of their privileges and very energetic in their resistance to any encroachments on their monopolies. Conservatism, restraint, and privilege handicapped the City. For example, in 1553, the City merchants engaged in overseas trade were granted a charter to become the Company of Merchant Adventurers or the Meere Merchants. In the 1580's they were in dispute with the City retailers encroaching on their trade.(1) Anxious over their privileges, succeeding generations of merchants were in many respects without enterprise. They showed little enthusiasm to trade with the newly planted North American colonies. It is curious how later in the seventeenth century the merchants undertook very little trade across the Atlantic although they were actively shipping goods to and from ports in Italy, Spain, Holland, Germany, Sweden and Russia. In the eighteenth century they failed to engage in the Africa trade although ships very suitable for the slave trade were being built in Chester. The City merchants must have been lacking in enterprise and yet they certainly were not without continuing interest in improving the navigation of the River Dee.

The aim of this thesis has been to examine the type of trade conducted by the port during the seventeenth and

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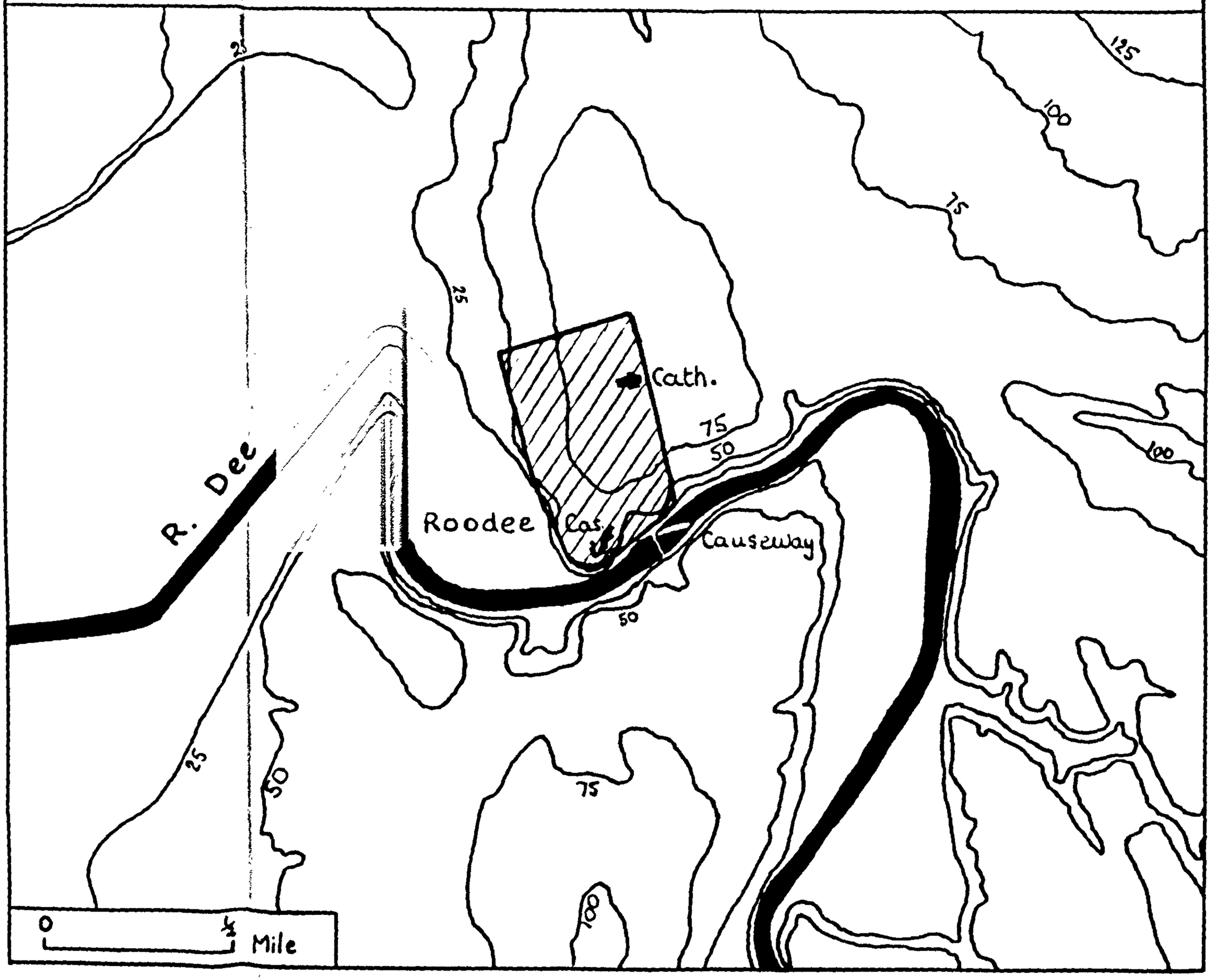
(1) Later disputes are discussed in Chapter One.

eighteenth centuries and to show how this was related to the state of the navigation of the river and the attempts to improve the waterway. The history of the Dee navigation during the two centuries is sufficiently well known for the general chronology to have been established, but there still remain a number of details about which new evidence can be found, particularly in the City Archives. Abundant material about the trade of Chester is available in the Port Books kept by the Customs officials and now in the Public Record Office. The Chester Port Books have not been previously worked over in detail. Although the quantity of this material is considerable, its accuracy and precision is very variable over the two centuries and therefore it requires discriminating use. But to understand the trade, it is necessary to know not only the state of the Dee navigation, but also the activities and characteristics of the citizens, the extent to which they engaged in commerce and industry, and in a more general way the productivity of the hinterland which Chester then served. In this respect the port of Chester during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is very suitable for study by a geographer who will examine the archival material as well as the land and its contemporary use, and will give due weight to environmental factors in his evaluation of the various elements which contributed to the changing fortunes of the port.

Part One of the thesis describes the City, the navigation of the River Dee, and the hinterland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Part Two describes firstly Chester's role in the organization of the Customs, because it is from the Customs' entries that most of the information about the City's maritime trade can be obtained; secondly, the trade with foreign countries, Ireland and other ports of England, Wales and Scotland; and finally, the assessment of the various elements which contributed to the decline of the port, indicating in particular the importance of geographical factors.

THE SITE OF CHESTER



P A R T I

CHAPTER ONE

THE CITY OF CHESTER; 1600 TO 1800

Chester is situated on a low plateau of Bunter sandstone on the north side of the River Dee about 18 miles from the sea entrance to the estuary between the Point of Air and Hilbre Island. This low, sandstone plateau continues south of the river, which is sufficiently narrow by the City to have been easily forded in Roman times and later bridged. Above the City, the river flows from the south in a broad, shallow valley, cut in glacial drift. Before the New Channel was constructed in the 1730's, the river broadened out into its estuary immediately below the City. This is clearly shown on the chart made by Captain Greenville Collins in 1689. (I)

The site offered many advantages to the Romans who originally founded the City. Here was the tidal limit of the river where a ford was practicable and safe. The site was dry, but water could be easily obtained from springs and wells; or from the river itself. Building stone could be quarried from the local Bunter Pebble Beds, although this was inferior

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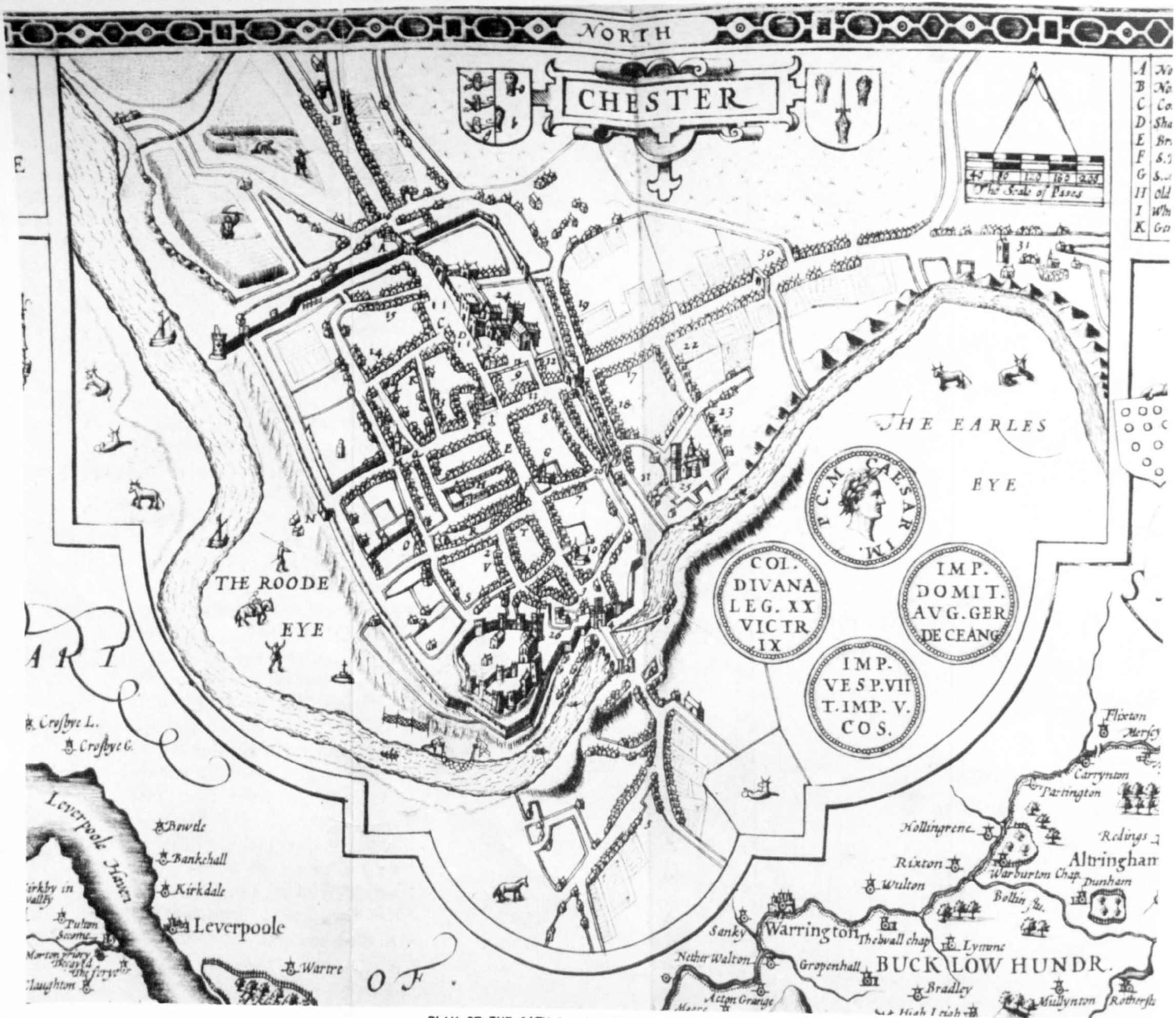
(I) Capt.G.Collins, A New and Exact Survey of the River Dee or Chester Water, 1689.

to the building stones of the lower Keuper; and bricks could be made from the boulder clay covering the Bunter to the north and east of the City. Wood, especially oak, was plentiful on the clay lands of Wirral and the Dee Valley. The site was also suitable for defence. It was well protected by the river which curved round its southern and western flanks. The alluvial flat of the Roodee accumulated in the Middle Ages. In Roman times the river channel lay close to the walls of the fortress. To the north lay the forest of Wirral, which remained uncleared until the later Middle Ages. To the north-east, there were the marshes of the valley of the River Gowy. Across the River Dee, to the south-west, there was the large expanse of Saltney Marsh, the northern part of which was inundated at high tide. These marshes were not reclaimed until the second half of the eighteenth century. Although protected by these natural features, the City could be easily approached from the south along the southern continuation of the low sandstone plateau; or from the south-east on the higher ground immediately east of the river valley.



PLAN OF THE CITY by J. SPEED, 1610

(i)

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

In 1600, Chester was almost contained within its walls. Near the North and East Gates there were a few houses outside. Ships came directly up the Dee to the Watergate or the Bridge. Braun's plan of the City in 1580 showed the channel of the river close to the Watergate but Speed's more accurate plan of 1610 showed a considerable tract of land beyond the western wall. (I) Camden wrote at this time:

"The City is of square form, surrounded with a wall about two miles in compass..., nor is there anything wanting to make it a flourishing city, except it be that the sea is not so favourable as it has been, and the town has lost the advantage of a harbour which it enjoyed heretofore". (2)

The river continued to give trouble throughout the century but this was not the only hardship for the citizens.

(I) Braun's map is reproduced in R.H. Morris, Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods, Chester, 1894, p.256. J.Speed, The Countye Palatine of Chester with that most ancient City described in The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine, 1611; also in Morris, op.cit.p.227.
(2) W.Camden, Britannia, edit.E.Gibson, 4th edit. London, 1722. p.483.

In the 1570's and 80's the City suffered from outbreaks of fire and plague. Heavy losses of ships were incurred to French privateers, and by shipwreck;(I) a temporary revival was brought about by the war in Ireland when the City was used as a base for reinforcing the armies with men and material. The much harassed Mayor of Chester, in direct and frequent contact with the Privy Council, was responsible for this task. Trade prospered with the influx of troops and travellers, but the citizens complained of the lawlessness of the troops and the damage they did, and there were further outbreaks of plague.(2) Trade with Ireland continued but this revival did not evolve immediately into a period of prosperity. In March 1619, the Mayor informed the Privy Council that the City had no ships, trading only in small barks, "of thirtie or fortie tunnes - for the most part used for importing of passengers and cattell betwixt Ireland and England."(3) The greatest hardship suffered by the City during the century was the damage and loss of trade during

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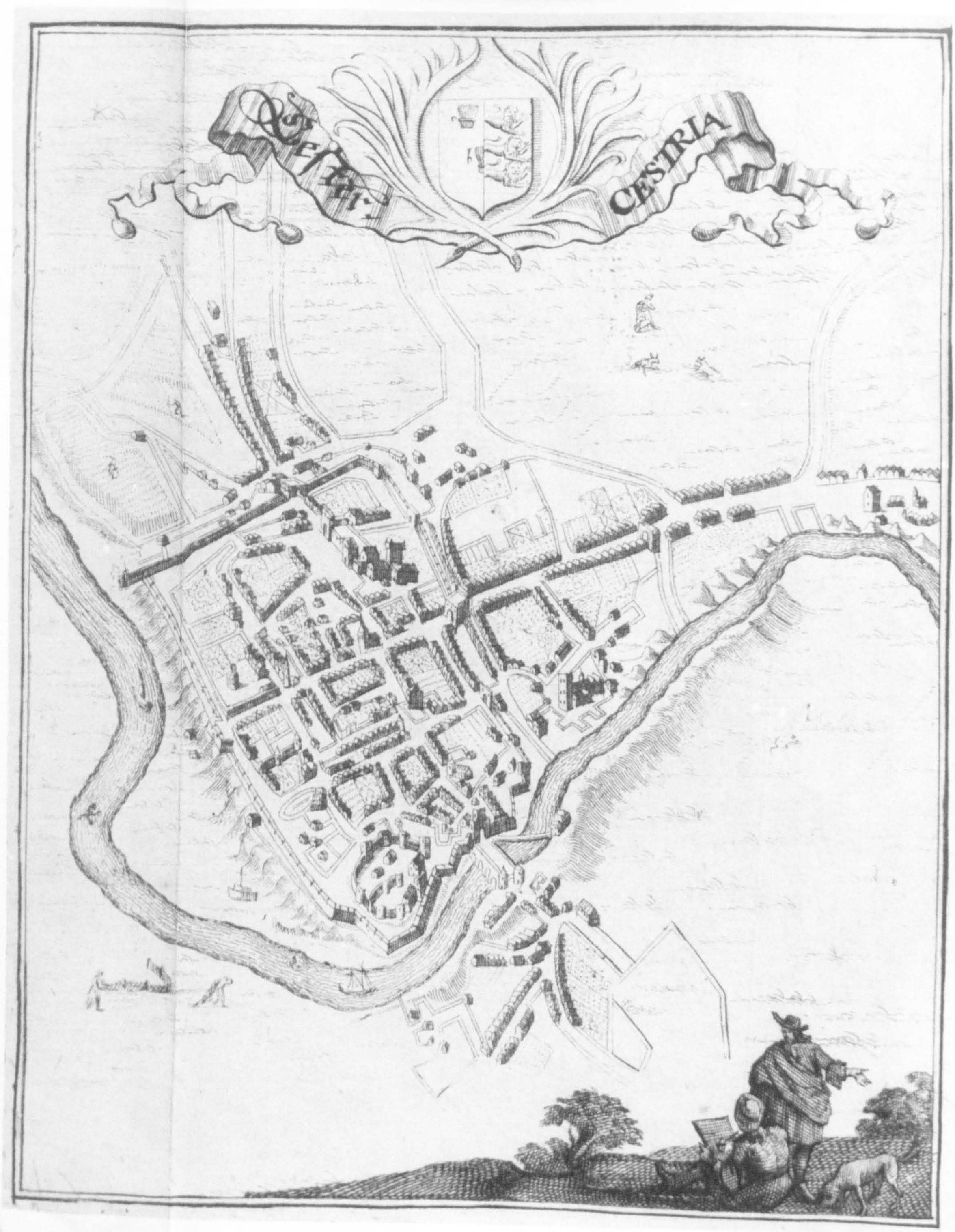
(I) Calendar. State Papers Domestic Addenda 1580-1603. p.14.
(2) Plague occurred in 1603 when the Michaelmas Fair could not be held because of it; in 1604 there were further outbreaks and again in the summer of 1605. 1313 people were said to have died solely from plague at that time. In 1636, the dirt in the streets was considered the cause of plague in that year. See G. Ormerod History of the County Palatine and City of Chester. 2 edit. London 1882. vol.1. pp. 239-40.
(3) State Papers Domestic, 107. 14.

the Civil War when it was besiegod by Parliamentary forces and finally surrendered. Damage was particularly heavy to the buildings outside the walls. This was followed in 1647 by a serious outbreak of plague. Trade was reduced to a standstill. The citizens were in great poverty and Parliament authorised the taking of collections in the churches of London, Westminster, Cheshire, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Southampton, Middlesex, Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Suffolk and Norfolk for the relief of the City; but recovery came more quickly than was expected. The French traveller, Albert Jorevin de Rocheford, was able to give a robust account of the City a few years later:

"Chester is esteemed one of the strongest towns in England, on account of its fine high walls, the many towers by which it is defended, and its strong castle, standing in the highest part of the town, which it commands. It has been much damaged in the late wars. Under the usurpation of Cromwell, the town was almost utterly ruined after having sustained a long siege."(I)

He related this revival to the City's function as a port,

(I) A. Jorevin de Rocheford,"Description of England and Ireland" (Paris, 1672). Reprinted. The Antiquarian Repertory Vol.4, London, 1809. pp 586-587.



PLAN OF THE CITY, M. MERIAN 1650

and continued by describing his own experience of embarking at Chester for Ireland.

"Chester - may be reckoned among the good seaports, since it is the ordinary passage of the packet boat, messengers and merchandize going from England to Ireland. The first thing I did on my arrival at Chester was to learn when the packet boat would sail for Dublin; it had set off some days before; but I found a trading vessel laden with divers merchandize, in which I took my passage for Ireland. This vessel was at anchor in the gulf, near the little village of Birhouse, eight miles from the town. Here are some large stone houses for the keeping of the merchandize to be embarked for Ireland, and reciprocally from Ireland to England."

Even at the end of the century the City was scarcely larger than it had been a hundred years before. There had been building to remedy the damage done during the siege and some entirely new properties. For example, a new Custom House was built in 1633 in Watergate Street to replace the office in the castle previously used by the customs officials.(I)

Plans of the City made by Merian about 1650 and by Alexander Forbes in 1691 show houses along Foregate Street

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(I) R. Blome. Britannia, London, 1673, p.54.

and outside the Northgate.(I) The plan of 1691 gives details of building outside the Eastgate and adjoining Foregate Street, and names St. John's Lane, Love Lane, Bakers Lane and Cow Lane. Within the walls a large space on the west side of Nicholas Street remained without buildings. In the main, Merian's plan of 1650 is very similar to that of Speed in 1610, and Braun's in 1580.

Celia Fiennes, visiting the City in 1697, noticed that the buildings were mostly constructed of timber, except the Bishop's palace near the Cathedral and the adjacent doctors' houses which were built of stone. The new hall built for the Assizes was of brick, with stone quoins and elevated on great stone pillars. She found the Rows, the double tier of shops, one at ground level and the other at first floor level, and set back with its own covered-in footway, convenient but they made the shops dark. The trade and prosperity of the City she ascribed to "the intercourse it has with Ireland; most take this passage; and also the intercourse with Wales which is parted from it and England by the River Dee which washes the Castle Walls in which they keep their stores but nothing fine in it."(2)

(I) M.Merian, Cestria. 1650. British Museum K.9.3 A Plan of Chester taken by Alexander Forbes. 1691. British Museum, 1112. (3).

(2) Celia Fiennes, Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary, edit.by E.W.Griffiths, London, 1888. p.148.

(ii)

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Defoe's description of Chester in the seventeen twenties can be used in conjunction with the excellent plan of the City made by Alexander de Lavaux, an army engineer, and published in 1745, to form a picture of Chester in the first half of the eighteenth century.(I) Defoe found the City "well worth describing."

"Chester has four things very remarkable in it.

1. Its walls which are very firm, beautiful and in good repair.

2. The Castle, which is also kept up and has a garrison always in it.

3. The Cathedral.

4. The River Dee, and

5. The bridge over it."(2)

Defoe considered the Rows as dirty, dark and ugly; but he approved of the main streets, crossing at right angles in

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(I) A. de Lavaux, Plan of the City and Castle of Chester, 1745. British Museum, K.9.4.
(2) D. Defoe. A Tour through England and Wales (1724-27). Everyman's Edition, 1948. vol.2, pp.69-70.

CASSIS TUTISSIMA VIRTUS

To
the Rt. Hon.ble GEORGE Earl of CHOLMONDELEY
Governour & Chamberlain of the CITY and
CASTLE of CHESTER & Lord Lieutenant
and Custos of the said County.
This Plan is most humbly Inscribed by
His Lordship's most Obed.t and most
Devoted Servant
Alexander De Lavaux

PLAN
of the
City & Castle of Chester
Survey'd and Drawn
By
Alexander De Lavaux
ENGINEER.

Scale of a Quarter of a Mile
Scale of three Furlongs
Scale of two thousand Feet

Scale of 40 Chains

The River Dee

The Earl's Eye

The Rood Eye

Salt Grass

Salt Grass

The Sluice

The Slaughter House

The Crane

The Timber Yard

The Starting Chair

The Distance Chair

Brewers Hall

John Wright Esq.r

The Slaughter House

The Water Gate Way

The Water Gate

The Water Tower

The Castle

The Gaol

The Bridge Gate

The Bridge Gate Row

The Exchange

The Cross

The Pentice

The Shambles

The Bridge Street Row

The Bridge Street Row

The Bridge Street Row

the centre of the City, which were "very broad and fair." He noted that Neston was the point of embarkation for Ireland; that a recent flood had "destroyed a fine new wharf and landing place for goods, a little below the town," and the City now had its water brought in pipes from the river whereas when he previously visited the City about 1690 the water was carried on "horses in great leather vessels, like a pair of baker's panyers." He also emphasised the great quantity of cheese shipped each year to London.

It is clear from de Lavaux's plan that the walls would appear prominently when the City was viewed from the outside, because there was no continuous zone of houses outside them. The plan shows a cluster of houses along the "For North Gate Street" as far as the North Gate May Pole, where the street divided into the Liverpool Road and the Parkgate Road. On the east side of this street there were two stone quarries. Houses also extended along Foregate Street beyond the Barrs as far as the junction of the London and Northwich roads. Between Foregate Street and the Dee the land had been partially built over but large gardens and an open space south of the Barrs called the Headlands, remained. Within the City walls the open site west of Nicholas Street had not yet been built upon. De Lavaux marked and named the Wool Hall, the Linen Hall, the Exchange, the Shambles, and the Corn Market

A South Prospect of the City of Chester.

Published according to Act of Parliament by S. Buck at the Globe over against Durham Yard in the Strand, 1749.

in North Gate Street near the Cathedral, but he omitted the Custom House in Watergate Street.

The topographical writers of the second half of the eighteenth century repeatedly remark upon the good business done by the tradesmen and shopkeepers. Thus, Malachy Postlethwayt wrote in 1751:

"Tis a large, fine, well-built City, and full of wealthy inhabitants who, by its neighbourhood to the Severn and Ireland, carry on a very considerable trade; so that the shopkeepers here have good business and look with cheerful countenances... They have great fairs here every year to which an abundance of merchants and tradesmen resort, but particularly from Bristol and Dublin."(I)

And they repeatedly referred to the City's connections with Ireland and the brisk passage of travellers to and fro.

"Its inns (were) well furnished with good accommodation and at reasonable rates, being the greatest thorough fair between England and Ireland; the victuallers well stocked with excellent beer and ale, and their houses well stored with plate."(2)

(I) M. Postlethwayt. The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce, 1751, vol.1, p.487.

(2) Note attached to South East Prospect of the City of Chester by I. Bowen, British Museum. K.9.7a.

Tho writers of tho lator docados of tho century, ospocially J. Aikin and T. Ponnant gavo full doscriptions of tho port's ovorsoas trado, but thoy woro omphatic that tho trado of Chostor was slight in comparison with that of Livorpool. Thus Aikin wroto after doscribing tho trado of Livorpool:(I)

"Tho maritimo business of Chostor is of no great extent... it chiefly consists of the coasting and Irish trados, with a small portion of trado to foreign parts."

Ponnant pointed out that tho trado of Chostor was at its moridian in 1771 and then added:

"Tho number of ships bolonging to this placo shows tho uncommorcial gonius of its inhabitants; thoro boing only 22 in tho foreign trado, containing in all 1499 tons and 169 mon, and 13 in tho coast trado whoso tonnago is 680 tons, and tho numbor of mon 58."(2)

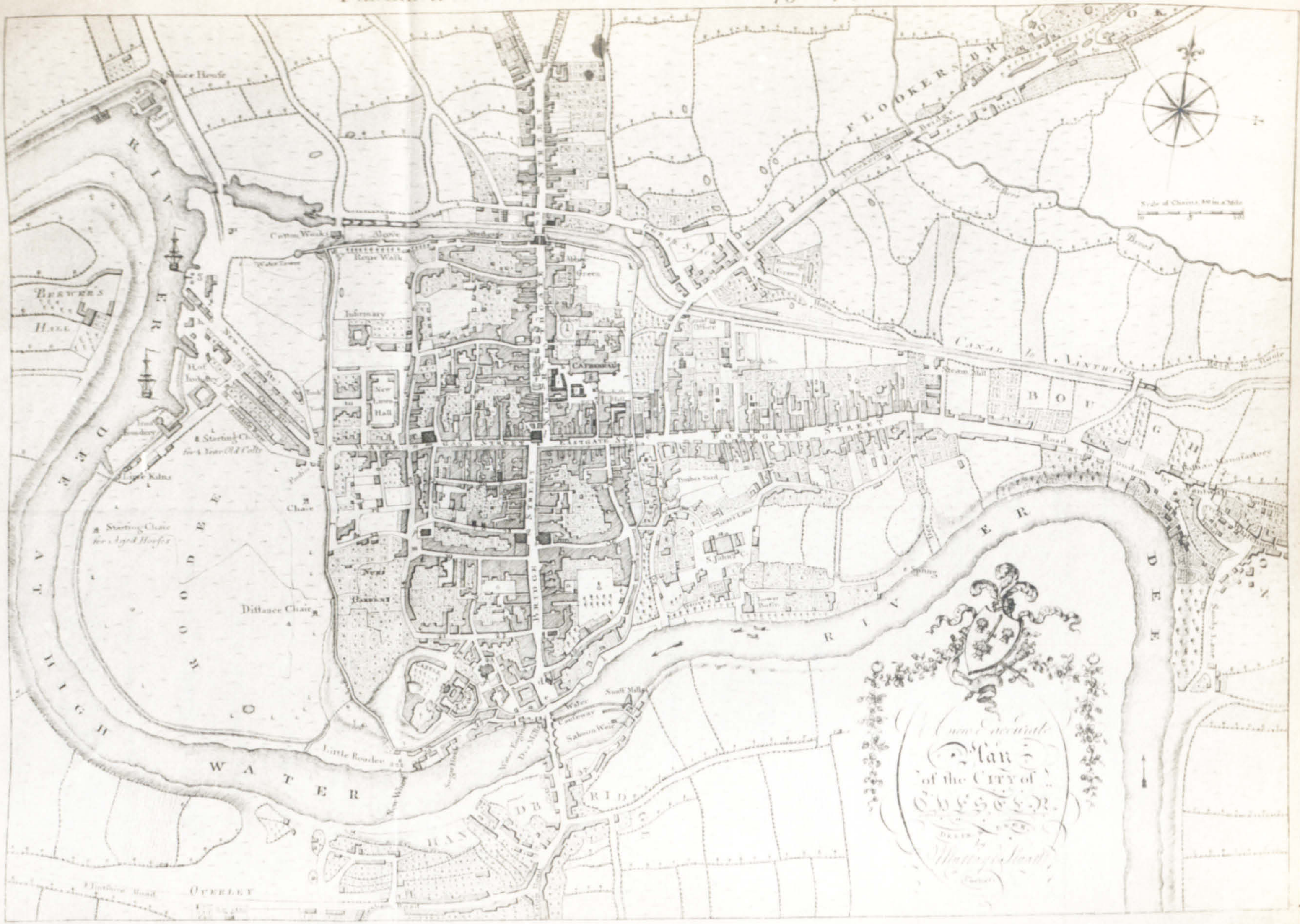
Ponnant's phraso "tho uncommorcial gonius of its inhabitants" is rovoaling and important, ospocially in tho light of Aikin's statomont that:

"With rospoct to tho charactor and consoquonco of Chostor

(I) J. Aikin, A doscription of tho Country from Thirty to Forty Miles round Manchostor, London, 1795. pp.389-91.

(2) T. Ponnant, Tours in Walos, London, 1810. vol.1. p.265.

Published as the Act directs 1st. October, 1791, by Jno. Poole.



PLAN OF THE CITY by MURRAY and STUART, 1791

as a town, it has long maintained the same station it at present occupies. It is principally distinguished as a sort of provincial metropolis not only to its own country but to the neighbouring counties of North Wales."(I)

Plans of the City during these years show that the growth of the City was not large. A few more houses were built in the northern and eastern suburbs outside the walls. Important, but small, docks had been constructed near the Watergate where Crane Street, Paradise Row and New Crane Street had been built. This was the port area of the latter half of the eighteenth century and will be discussed later in this chapter. Within the walls a new linen hall had been built (this was necessary to handle the large trade in plain linen cloth shipped from Ireland), but large open tracts remained. New industrial developments were a small cotton factory and a rope works near the Water Tower and a fustian factory at Broughton. The Nantwich Canal now flanked the north side of the City and entered the Dee through a large basin. In size, the City had grown very little during the century.(2)

(I) Aikin, op.cit. p.388.
(2) The population of the City in 1800 was about 15,000. "This had been stationary for some time, the increase has not been above one thousand in the last forty years." Rev. Richard Warner. A Second Walk through Wales, 1798.

(iii)

FUNCTIONS OF THE CITY: THE PROVINCIAL METROPOLIS.

The functions of the City during the two centuries were fivefold. Firstly, as is obvious, it was a port. Secondly, the City was a vital link in the communications between England and Ireland for goods, passengers and soldiers. In peace, as in war, the road from London to Chester, crossing the Midlands and following the track of the Roman Watling Street, was bustling with travellers making their way to Chester where they would embark for Ireland. Thirdly, Chester was a garrison City. This military function was of importance during the Civil War, the campaigns in Ireland in the seventeenth century, and the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. It so declined during the latter half of the eighteenth century, that the castle was manned solely by two companies of invalids. Fourthly, Chester was a cathedral city with a bishop's residence and a large number of clergy. Lastly, it was a kind of provincial metropolis not only for Cheshire but also for the neighbouring counties of North Wales.(1) It was well provided with shops; it had weekly markets well supplied with meat, fish, corn and provisions, and annual fairs which were well attended by merchants

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(1) Saltney Marsh impeded contact with Wales. Few Welsh settled in Chester.

from Dublin and many parts of England. These functions in a large measure resulted from the geographical factors of the City's site and position.

Markets were held on Wednesdays and Saturdays. They were essentially provision markets, selling meat, fish, butter, cheese and eggs. There was also a weekly horse market, and a corn market held in Northgate Street. The fairs which lasted a week, were held three times a year, in February, at Midsummer and at Michaelmas. The February fair, or the "Horn and Hoof," as it was called, was primarily intended for the sale of cattle and horses, while the later ones, particularly in the eightenth century, were markets for the sale of Irish linen cloth, Lancashire muslins, cottons and flannel, Yorkshire woollens, Welsh flannel, Sheffield and Birmingham hardware, and hops. On the first two days there was also a sale of cattle and horses and large quantities of tanned leather were laid out for inspection and sale. The business was transacted in the late eighteenth century in several large halls, where temporary shops and counters were erected.(I)

(I) In the seventeenth century the business of the markets was conducted in the Rows with special parts assigned to particular commodities. For example, in 1667, the flax, yarn and linen cloth markets were moved to the Rows in Bridge Street. In 1668 they were moved back to the Row in Watergate Street. City Archives, Assembly Orders.

Those in the Exchange sold coarse Welsh linens and flannels, those in the Manchester Hall specialised in Manchester goods, and those in the Union Hall sold Yorkshire woollens. Important business of the fairs after 1736[I] was the sale of Irish linen cloth. In 1755 a Linen Hall was built near the Cathedral to replace earlier ones, first in Eastgate Street, and later in Watergate Street. This linen hall by the Cathedral was also eventually too small for the volume of business transacted, so the City linen merchants organised the building of a new hall, with accommodation for about 100 shops, in 1778. The old linen hall continued to be used for the sale of Yorkshire cloth and hardware. These markets and fairs were most prosperous in the eighteenth century after which there was a considerable and rapid decline.

This brisk business had been made possible by the wide range of transport services available. In the Middle Ages Chester was a focus of trunk roads, and in the eighteenth century the City was well served by coaches, waggons and vessels in the coasting trade. Although more details are available concerning these transport services after 1700, there is no reason to suppose that they were not functioning earlier, if in a more rudimentary form. In 1790 Chester had

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(1) Pennant, op.cit. vol.1. p.265.

extensive connections by coaches and waggons. The carriers had an organised schedule of times and places of departure, and served, in particular, a large area of North Wales.

Coaches from Chester 1790 (I)

Name	Destination	Frequency
The Royal Mail	London	Daily
The Royal Mail	Holyhead	Daily
The Royal Chester	London	Every Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday
The Birmingham Post Coach	Birmingham	Every Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday
Post Coach	Shrewsbury, Worcester, Bath and Bristol	Every Saturday, Tuesday and Thursday
The Royal Blue	Liverpool	Daily
The Mercury	Parkgate	Daily, except Mondays during summer; 3 days a week in winter.
The Friendship	Manchester via Preston Brook	Daily except Saturdays
The Liberty	Manchester via Northwich, Knutsford, Altrincham	Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

Both fly waggons, taking six days, and ordinary waggons, left

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(I) Based on details in P. Barfoot and J. Wilkes, Universal British Dictionary of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture. London, 1791. vol.2, pp. 723-24.

for London three times a week. Carriers also went to Manchester, Warrington, Northwich, Whitchurch, Wrexham and Mold three times in the week, and to Holywell twice. There were weekly services to Shrewsbury, Oswestry, Denbigh, Ruthin, St. Asaph, Abergele, Bala, Corwen and Mostyn, and a fortnightly service to Pwllheli. Waggons came from Conway, Bettws-y-Coed, Llanwrst, Bangor, Beaumaris and Welshpool at irregular intervals.(I)

(iv)

THE CITY COMPANIES AND THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.

In Chester the highly organised guilds of the Middle Ages continued into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They had a considerable influence over trade in the City during these centuries, although, unfortunately, they acted in many ways more as a brake upon the expansion of trade and industry, than as a stimulus. They were over twenty in number. Some represented single, or closely associated trades, as, for example, the Tanners, the Butchers, the Bakers, the Brewers, the Innkeepers, the Coopers, the Goldsmiths, the

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(I) P.Barfoot and J.Wilkes, op.cit. vol.2, p.724.

Weavers, the Tailors, the Barber-surgeons, the Cordwainers and Shoemakers, the Wet and Dry Glovers, the Skinners and Feltmakers, and the Bricklayers. Some were curious amalgamations of trades which had been brought together by poverty, or to engage in disputes. Such groupings of trades included the Mercers, Ironmongers, Grocers and Apothecaries; the Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers and Stationers; and the Cappers, Pinners, Wiredrawers and Linendrapers. The food trades were always sufficiently wealthy to maintain themselves in separate companies.(I)

The prolongation of life for these companies was largely due to the bequest by Owen Jones in 1658, of lands at Minera near Wrexham. Money arising from this land was to be given to each company in turn. In 1709, lead ores were discovered there, although they had been known in the district for many years. The profits from the lead mining brought large sums of money to the companies. They were able to acquire more capital which they invested in such schemes as the Chester to Nantwich Canal. Because of the profits to members of the companies the tendency to restrict membership grew stronger. This was bad for the guilds and their influence began to

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(I) This is fully discussed in M.J. Groombridge. Chester City Gilds. Jour. of Chester & N. Wales Archit. Archaeol. and Hist. Soc., New Series, vol.XXXIX, 1952, pp. 93-108.

weaken rapidly after 1780.

The Company of Merchant Adventurers, known as the Meere Merchants, did not remain as an active company after the early years of the seventeenth century. When precisely the Merchants ceased to be the Meere Merchants remains so far a mystery. The last reference to them in the City Archives was when the Assembly gave its support to the Meere Merchants petition to obtain a new grant to export calf-skins.(I) They obtained their charter in 1553.

It stated that, "according to the complaint of William Aldersey, Richard Poole, and Richard Massye, and others (Merchant Venturers). Artisans and Craftsmen without suitable knowledge have trafficked in foreign merchandise to the defrauding of the Queen's customs and the injury of the shipping interest of Chester. The Queen therefore appoints William Aldersey, Master of the Merchant Venturers in Chester, with two wardens, Richard Poole and Richard Massye, and they, with other citizens who are not of any manual art, who have exercised the art or mystery of Merchant Venturers for seven years last past, should be one body corporate under the name of the Master, Wardens and Commonalty of Merchant Venturers of Chester. No craftsman or other person of the City is to

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(I) City Archives Second Assembly Book. October 23rd 1640.

resort to merchandise in foreign parts, unless admitted to the Society, and this grant is not to prejudice the rights of the Crown, the privileges of the Mayor or the Governor and Society of Merchant Adventurers frequenting Spain, Holland, Zeeland, Brabant and Flanders."(I)

The charter was renewed in 1559 and 1581 in spite of opposition from the London Merchant Adventurers. The Moore Merchants had also to contend with opposition in the City from retailers who disputed their privileged position. This dispute within the City was resolved by an order of the Privy Council, dated July 10th, 1589. This contained seven points:

"1. The Moore Merchants and the free citizens may use the benefit of retailing in some other trade, i.e. to be a draper, mercer, vintner, ironmonger, etc. "beinge noe manuell occupacion". Also retailers may use the "trade of merchandise" together with the retailing "and take the benefytt of the liconce for transporting of calve skins".

2. Any free citizen, of what title or trade, having borne public office within the City, "leaving their manuell trade and occupacion, be admitted into the Companie of Merchant Adventurers within the ... cittie".

(I) R.H. Morris. op.cit. pp. 463-4.

3. Members of the Company and partakers of the licence "shall every of them paie such fyne for the publique good of the harborough there, or such other publique uses for the ... cittie as to the Maiour and Aldermen ... shalbe thought meete, so alwaies the same be not less than fyve pounds".

4. Merchants and retailers, having those privilegos to trade together, are to pay charges as required to the Company.

5. The Merchant Adventurers to enjoy the privileges granted to them by Queen Mary, which the Order in Council of 1581, in the controversy with the merchants of London trading to Spain and Portugal, affirmed.

6. Members of the Society to trade in calf skins, paying such customs per dicker as are required to Her Majesty or the Farmers, the customer taking note of the quantities shipped.

7. The Order to "be delivered or shewed forth at or in the Custom House of the ... porte", so that it can be put into speedy execution for the benefit of the City "and the maintenance of the navigacion there as the first granting there of the same was ment and intended".(I)

(I) Acts of Privy Council, vol.17. 1588-89. p.372.

This order was important because it united the merchants and the retailers. The tendency became more and more for the merchants to engage in the retail trade and to associate themselves with overseas trading as a profitable side line. There were exceptions but this was true in the main.

Although the bulk of Chester's trade was with Ireland, the tradition of trade with ports of Western Europe was maintained by City merchants throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After 1600, they were shipping wine from Gascony, and iron, wool and wine from San Sebastian, Bilbao and Oporto. These merchants included Thomas Aldersey, Foulke Aldersey (who bequeathed £200 for charitable purposes in 1611, but the sum was appropriated for the defence of the City during the siege of 1642-43), William and Andrew Gamull, Lawrence Massey, Richard Bird, Thomas Throppe, William Ince, Thomas Mottershead, William Edwards, Charles Fitton and Robert Harvey.(I) About 1640 some of these merchants had financial arrangements for the negotiation of bills of exchange at La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Bilbao and Malaga.(2) They were shipping overseas quantities of tanned calf-skins.

Queen Elizabeth had granted a licence to Arthur Balsano for

(I) The status of those merchants in the City was considerable. Many of them hold the offices of Mayor and Shorriff.
(2) City Archives. Book of Protested Bills. 1639-65.

the annual export of 600 dickers from Chester during a period of seven years, paying five shillings per dicker of ten dozen calf-skins.(I) Later James I granted a licence to James Maxwell for 21 years in which to export 18,000 dickers. This was confirmed by Charles I.(2) This trade was upset during the middle years of the century. In 1660, the Mayor petitioned for permission to complete the licence of which only 8,000 had been exported.(3) He further requested the right to export 16,000 more within the next 21 years to repair the decay of trade.

Later in the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century, in addition to this trade with France, Spain and Portugal, the City merchants were also trading with the Low Countries, Italy and Scandinavia. They shipped wine, corkwood, fruit and skins from Spain and Italy, flax, timber and hemp from Russia and Scandinavia, and Rhenish wine, linen and manufactured goods from the Low Countries. In return, they chiefly exported lead. George Prescott was in many ways typical of the merchants of the mid-eighteenth

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(I) Each dicker contained ten dozen calf-skins according to the entries in the Port Books, 1600 to 1641. Harleian MSS. No.2004. f.735.
(2) J. Hemingway. History of the City of Chester. Chester. 1821, vol.2. p.329.
(3) Calendar, State Papers Domestic. 1660-1661. p.384.

century. He was made a City freeman in 1716, and his son Thomas in 1733.(I) In the thirties and forties they were shipping lead to Leghorn, Lisbon, Hamburg, Amsterdam and Copenhagen and tanned leather to Lisbon and Leghorn, and importing iron, timber and flax from the Baltic. They were also busy in the coastal trade, especially in the shipment of Cheshire cheese to London. George Prescott was sufficiently important to be called in 1732 to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee inquiring into the state of the navigation of the Dee.(2) He spoke out forthrightly about the abominable state of the waterway, which was now so bad that only small ships could reach the City, except at spring tides. He advocated the building of a new channel by driving piles and making protecting walls, although this, he knew, would result in the warping of the old channel. Prescott had appeared before this Committee, but neither he nor his son became one of the forty undertakers appointed by N. Kinderley to support the building of the New Channel. Perhaps, like most of the other merchants, they lacked capital. In 1740, Prescott was a leading member of the group of merchants

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(I) Rolls of the Freemen of the City of Chester. Part 2, transcribed and edited by J.H.E. Bennett. Rec.Soc. Lancs. Ches. vol.55. 1908.
(2) Jour. H. of C. vol.XXI, pp. 812-3.

agitating against the high rate of the tonnage dues.(I)

The Prescotts were different from their contemporaries in that they were not busy in the Irish trade, especially the Irish linen trade. Merchants engaged in this were John Chamberlayne, James Folliott, John Hignett, Edward, Thomas, Robert and Joseph Hincks, Peter and Samuel Leckonby, John Sorton, John Tilston and John Williamson. Together they organised the building of the New Linen Hall in the seventies. Many of them were also busy in the coast trade, especially the shipment of cheese and lead to London, but they ignored the trans-Atlantic and African trades. In the seventies John Rogers established a Newfoundland Company to ship fish, fish oil, furs, skins and timber, but this was exceptional. In the seventies and eighties the wine trade with Spain and Portugal was in the hands of Robert Barnston, John Bennett, Francis Clayton, Robert Hesketh and Joseph Snow. These merchants did not form a select group engaged only in overseas trade. They were often shopkeepers, general dealers and chandlers as well. Their overseas trade had to overcome the difficulties of the river navigation and they had not the backing of active, productive industry in the City. But they were without the company restraints of the other City

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(I) City Archives. C/MC.150.

tradesmen, and were essentially middlemen. Much of their trade was conducted in ships not belonging to the Chester, and even in foreign ships, but they probably had large shares in the ships which did belong to the port.

(v)

INDUSTRIES IN THE CITY.

A variety of factors militated against industrial development. Firstly, there was a shortage of power. The Dee was crossed by one causeway which provided power for the Dee Mills. These were used for grinding corn, and they figured in many disputes; but this source of power was inadequate in times of drought.(I) The nearest coal pits were at Hawarden from whence the coal was carried in waggons or on pack animals, often across the sands at low tide, or by small boats up the river. Secondly, there was a shortage of raw materials. The adjacent districts of Cheshire and North Wales could supply hides, skins and oak bark for the City's tanners, but little else. It was more convenient to smelt the lead ore of Flintshire on the spot using local coal than

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(I) In February 1601, part of the causeway collapsed and the mills were put out of use until it was repaired. G.Ormerod, op.cit.vol.1. p.238.

to bring both the ore and the fuel to the City. A small quantity of lead was refined in the City, and the shot tower, which remains today, was built in 1800. Furthermore, the City merchants did not engage in the colonial or North American trade so there was no direct importation of cotton or tobacco from the plantations on a sufficiently large scale to encourage manufactures in either commodity. Thirdly, there seems to have been a lack of enterprise on the part of the citizens themselves. On March 3rd, 1767, a letter was printed in Adams's Courant Weekly suggesting that the City ought to develop industries to relieve the large number of poor and commending the efforts of Mr. Forrest to encourage cotton spinning and weaving as a step in the right direction, although it was not nearly enough to remedy the plight of the poor. The year before, Mr. Forrest had himself put a notice in the paper to the effect that he let out cotton and flax to be spun and woven from his warehouse in Chester every weekday, and at Wrexham every alternate Thursday. He advertised himself as a manufacturer of Blackburn cottons, and offered the same prices as were given in Lancashire. The City companies were a restraining influence on the expansion of trades and crafts. They viewed each other with suspicion and they very rarely acted together for the good of the City. Only once did they combine upon a concerted action. This was

in 1607, when there was a threat to breach the causeway across the river in order to improve the navigation.(I) They combined to stop this because so many of them used the river at the causeway for processes in their crafts. They fought always to keep out strangers who were only given free access on market days or at the time of the Midsummer and Michaelmas Fairs. They insisted that their members should have only one trade, not infringing on another company, nor keeping more than one shop, and they carefully regulated the admission of new members because they wanted to keep trade to themselves. The Brewers wanted the sole right of brewing beer, the Bakers wanted to prohibit the sale in the City of bread made by country bakers, and the Tanners wanted to restrict strangers trading in the City in skins. This was not a suitable environment for industrial expansion.

During the two centuries the leather trades were very important in the City. The lists of freemen who voted in the parliamentary elections of 1747 contain the names of 15 tanners, 23 glovers, and more than 150 cordwainers.(2) Hides were obtained from the dairy districts of Cheshire, the stock-raising parts of North Wales and from Ireland. Oak bark for

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(I) M.J. Groombridge, op.cit. pp.93-108.
(2) An Alphabetical List of the Names of all the Freemen of the City of Chester who polled at the General Election. Monday, July 27th, 1747. Chester 1747.

tanning was obtainable in the county, but less easily in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth. The yards of the tanners were in Foregate Street and Bakers Lane.

The Chester Tanners were hard hit by the tax of 1711 laid "upon hides and skins, tanned, tawed or dressed, for prosecuting the war and other of her Majesty's most necessary occasions."(I) At the same time more oak bark was being shipped to Ireland for the tanning of hides which might otherwise have been shipped to Chester for the City tanners. The City Company rose firmly to the occasion. They were in active touch with Peter Shakerley, their member of Parliament, who kept them informed of the national situation and firmly voiced in Parliament the views of his constituents.(2) The City Tanners wanted relief from the duties laid on leather and restrictions on the export of oak bark to Ireland. But in spite of active petitioning, the Company and citizens of Chester were unable to alter the situation. Peter Shakerley was not returned at the election of 1717, the duties on leather continued, and oak bark was increasingly shipped to Ireland, which produced greater quantities of leather.

(I) 9.Anne c.11, made perpetual by 3 Geo.1, c.7; amended and gradually abolished by 27 Geo.111, c.13; 43 Geo.111. c.68 and 49.Geo.111.c.98.

(2) City Archives, T.4. Letters of the Company of Tanners. 1675-1769.

The number of members of the Tanners' Company declined from about fifty at the beginning of the century to less than twenty five in the seventeen fifties. The Chester Directory for 1795 named six tanners; the 1797 edition named one.(I)

There were also the skinners, the glovers and the cordwainers. Skins were obtained from Ireland, some kidskins from Italy. The skinners had their workshops by the river between the Castle and the Old City Bridge, according to the plan of de Lavaux. The Glovers Stone probably marked the mart of the glovers. According to Lysons, the manufacture of gloves declined considerably in the early years of the nineteenth century when the number of employees was less than three hundred and most of these were women.(2) The large number of cordwainers in the City did not produce shoes for export or coastal shipment, according to the Port Books, in which entries for outgoing consignments of shoes were rare. Presumably they were sold at the markets and fairs, and in the shops.

In the early seventeenth century the cloth trades were well represented in the City, but Chester was never a leading

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(I) J. Broster, Chester Guide and Directory. Editions of 1795 and 1797.
(2) Rev. D. Lysons and S. Lysons, Magna Britannia, London, 1810. vol.2,pt.ii, p.608. J. Hemingway, op.cit.p.332. The glove trade migrated to Worcestershire.

textile centre. There were fulling mills by the causeway at this time. These would have been made useless if the causeway had been breached in the interests of the navigation in 1607. The citizens protested firmly and the project was dropped. Weaving was important then, although four years previously a stranger was granted the right to make and sell fustian for one year, because none of the City weavers were making any.(I) The important fulling mills were damaged by fire during the Parliamentary Siege, to the distress of the Company of Clothworkers and Walkers, who petitioned Parliament for help to rebuild.(2) The renovated mills passed into the hands of the Weavers' Company which disposed of them in 1725. In 1767 the mills were used for the manufacture of tobacco and snuff.(3) In 1673, the freedom of the City was conferred on a weaver, Robert Taylor, and a woolcomber, Francis Barton, who had come from Norwich to introduce the manufacture of new draperies.(4) Fifty years before, the Port Books showed a considerable export of these cloths from the port. This belated venture was not a success. We have already referred to the lack of textiles in the 1760's and the

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(I) City Archives. First Assembly Book 277.
(2) City Archives, C/MC/87.
(3) City Archives. Third Assembly Book.
(4) Hist.Manus. Commission. Vol.7. Eighth Report, pt.i p.390.

distress of the poor, but it was then too late, because the competition from Lancashire and Yorkshire would have overwhelmed a struggling new competitor.

The manufacture of tobacco pipes was a small industry of considerable importance during the two centuries, but declining about 1800. Chester pipes had a good reputation; some said they were among the best in Europe. The craftsmen had their workshops in Love Lane. Clay was shipped from Devon, Cornwall, Dorset and the Isle of Wight, and quantities of pipes were shipped overseas. A shorter style of pipe, called a hog pipe, was specially made for the Guinea trade. By 1800, this overseas trade was very small, but the home market remained.(I)

Shipbuilding was an important part of Chester's function as a port, although it was of less importance than the leather trades in the overall pattern of the City's industries. It was well established in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Celia Fiennes saw ships of 200 tons burden being built in Chester.(2) Lysons wrote in 1810 that more ships were built in Chester than in Liverpool, but this was certainly not true of the years before 1810, as the

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(I) Lysons, op.cit. vol.2, pt.ii. p.608.
(2) Celia Fiennes, op.cit. p.148.

accompanying Table shows.(I)

SHIPS BUILT AT CHESTER, LIVERPOOL, BEAUMARIS AND LANCASTER 1790-91 and 1804-05(2)

Port		Number of Ships Loss than 100 tons	100 to 200 tons	More than 200 tons	Total	Tonnage
Chester	1790-91	11	4	1	16	1488
	1804-05	11	5	3	19	2498
Liverpool	1790-91	26	23	10	59	6710
	1804-05	23	5	7	35	4154
Beaumaris	1790-91	38	3	1	42	1782
	1804-05	55	11	-	66	3620
Lancaster	1790-91	14	2	1	17	1323
	1804-05	6	2	3	11	1469

The number of shipwrights employed in Chester was also less than the number employed in Liverpool at this time.

NUMBER OF SHIPWRIGHTS AT CHESTER AND LIVERPOOL (3)

In April 1804

(I) Lysons, op.cit. vol.2, pt. ii, p.607.
(2) R. Stewart-Brown. Liverpool Ships in the Eighteenth Century. London, 1932. p.27; and P.R.O.Customs 17.
(3) R. Stewart-Brown, op.cit, p.34, quoting an Account of the Number of Shipwrights in the Merchant Yards of Great Britain in April 1804. Parliamentary Papers, June 25,1805.

	Shipwrights	Apprentices	Total
Chester	47	43	90
Liverpool	327	160	487

The Chester built ships were, according to Aikin, "reckoned to be superior in point of strength and beauty to those built at any other port of the Kingdom."(I) In size they ranged from 100 to 500 tons burden. The oak timbers were obtained from the coastal lowlands of Flintshire and Denbighshire, and from the Dee Valley, as frequent advertisements in Adams's Courant Weekly indicated:-

February 14th, 1739. A large parcel consisting of several thousand oak trees fit for shipbuilding, housebuilding and the mines. Very conveniently situated both for land and sea carriage. To be sold at Llannerch.

November 15th, 1748. A parcel of timber near Bachymbid midway between Denbigh and Ruthin. Consisting of about 1590 oaks and 1880 ash, elm, etc. A great many of the trees very fine, large clean timber fit for shipbuilding.

(I) J. Aikin, op.cit. p.391.

March 11th, 1766. To be sold at Henllan Denbigh, 400 fine large maidon oaks, fit for ship-building and many of them for keels. The timber lies within 3 miles of the port of Rhuddlan on an even hard road.

April 17th, 1766. To be sold at Erbistock, near Overton Bridge, 120 tons of shipbuilding timber. The timber lies within 1 mile of the River Dee and may be conveniently brought by water carriage to Chester.

Oak available in Central Cheshire was usually conveyed by water transport to Liverpool, rather than by road across Delamere Forest or the Beeston-Peckforton Hills to Chester. Thus, when oaks suitable for shipbuilding were to be sold in Middlewich, the advertisement in Adams's paper contained the notice that the timber was convenient for water carriage to Liverpool by the River Dane, the River Weaver and the River Mersey. Naval stores were sometimes shipped direct from the Baltic and similarly advertised in Chester papers. On other occasions they were brought by coasting vessels from Liverpool.

Particulars of the size of the ships were given in the notices of launchings and sales by auction or private treaty. Most of these ships were of less than 300 tons burden, as,

for example, the Adventurer, launched on July 31st, 1775, a brig of 160 tons, built for the Newfoundland Company of Chester; or the Ellen Clare, April 2nd, 1825, a brig of 174 tons built for a Liverpool merchant; or the Lee, June 24th, 1825, of 300 tons, which was built for the St.George Steam Packet Company of Liverpool and intended to sail between Liverpool and Cork.(I) Some of the Chester built ships were suitable for the Slave Trade. For example, "The Prince of Wales", put up for auction at Chester on February 24th, 1773, was described as being of 140 tons burden, sailing fast, taking ground well, and very suitable for the Windward Trade of Africa, "being a proper height in the hold and twice decked." It was also suitable for the coasting, Newfoundland or any other foreign trade.(2)

Fishing was not a large industry at Chester. Large quantities of salmon and trout were netted in the river. The nets were placed across the shallow channels in the sands. These were not only dangerous to shipping, but they

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(I) Chester Chronicle.

(2) Adams's Courant Weekly. On August 27, 1813, the "Clarendon", a West Indiaman, of 800 tons, burden, was launched at Chester. The Cheshire Sheaf, Old Series Vol.2, 1880, p.138.

were also an important aid to the process of silting.(I) Pennant described the visits of shoals of herrings to the Dee.

"The Herring in this sea is extremely desultory. At times they appear in vast shoals even as high as Chester; they arrive in the month of November and continue till February; and are followed by multitudes of small vessels which enliven the channel. Great quantities are taken and salted, but they are generally shotten (i.e. have spawned) and meagre. The last time they appeared here in quantities was in the year 1766 and 1767."

On November 25, 1766, Adams's Courant Weekly contained an advertisement for the sale of red herrings, "cured by a person of Yarmouth, well skilled in the business," by W. Williamson and Company at Parkgate. Pennant also mentioned codfish.(2)

"In my father's younger days, codfish of considerable sizes and in vast quantities were taken on the back of Hyle Sands, but they have deserted the place beyond my memory".

(I) R. Stewart-Brown. The Royal Manor and Park of Shotwick. Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, 1912. p.18. "It is quite probable, though it does not seem to have been generally noted, that to the excessive use of fish weirs, coups, fishyards or floodyards, as they were called, may be ascribed much of the silting up of the Dee." Also The Case of the River Dee, British Museum, Sloane MSS 3323.

(2) T. Pennant. The History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell, 1796. p.151.

(vi)

PORT FACILITIES WITHIN THE CITY.

The ships which ascended the river to the City could anchor near the Old Bridge or the Watergate. In 1587, the Corporation had leased the side of the river and the adjacent pasture, now forming the Roodee, to Thomas Lyneal, for him to reclaim. "He was also to make at his own cost a quay for boats and barks to unload at full sea near the Watergate;" for this he was to receive two pence for each vessel. Later this was increased to four pence, and Lyneal had to pay an annual rent of £20 to the City.(I) In the eighteenth century, wharves and berths were constructed in the reclaimed land separating the Watergate from the river; warehouses were built, and the whole was linked to the City by Crane Street, Paradise Row and New Crane Street. This became the real port area, with the dock entrance to the Nantwich Canal a short way to the north. Broster in 1782 wrote of "the Quays, Port and Crane where vessels of 350 tons load and unload, carried by the tides along the New River. On the wharf are large warehouses belonging to the

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(I) T. Pennant, Tours op.cit. vol.1. pp.253-4.

merchants, and hore vessels are built of 3 to 400 tons burthen."(I) Ships however, continued to use the higher anchorage by the Old Bridge. A newspaper advertisement of March 4th 1766, informing traders of an auction to be held at the Old Cheese Warehouses near the Bridge, of Irish ox-hides, Caernarvon slates, and West Indian sugar and logwood, pointed out also that:-

"There is now erected on the said premises a commodious crane for the landing and shipping of all kinds of goods with the greatest expedition and at the most reasonable rates.

"Also several warehouses to be let ... very convenient for goods that require water carriage."(2)

The Cheese Warehouse had been moved to near the Water-gate because of the more convenient position. The Custom House was in Watergate Street, having moved there from the Castle in 1633. There were regular arrangements for the carriage of goods from the berths and warehouses to the Custom House and other places within the City. Broster gave details of the fixed rates in his Chester Guides.(3)

In the seventeenth century, details of all cargoes entering the City by land or by sea, had to be entered in a book

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(I) Broster, op.cit. p.28.
(2) Adams's Courant Weekly.
(3) Broster, op.cit. 1782, pp.70-71.

in the Pontice Office with the name of the merchant concerned. This practice was not regularly adhered to in spite of resolutions passed by the Assembly...The City was anxious to protect its own merchants in the early years of the century from merchant strangers. A stranger had to offer his goods to the Mayor for the City as a common bargain for the general good of the City. If the Mayor, on behalf of the City declined to buy the goods, then the stranger could sell them as he wished. Sometimes the established rules were not adhered to. For example, in February 1609, Robert Berry, a City merchant, bought 76 tons of Gascony wine from Andrew Taylor, a merchant stranger. He made this purchase before the cargo had been offered to the Mayor as a common bargain, and so he was fined £40. Taylor, in evidence, said he had offered it to the Mayor at £23 per ton. The Mayor had kept it for nine days and then refused to pay more than £19; but he said that Taylor could sell it to others. As a consequence he had sold the wine to Berry at £21 per ton. When Berry insolently addressed the Mayor, he was put in the Northgate Gaol to teach him respect for the established customs.(I) Sometimes the merchant strangers deliberately offered their

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(I) City Archives. First Assembly Book February 7th, 1608/9. and Corporation Lease Book f.96.v.

wines as a common bargain at too high a price, and then sold freely. The Assembly ruled in December 1612 that all wines brought into the City by any merchant stranger, and which had already been sold to someone else who was not a freeman of the City, should be seized by the Sheriffs for the City's own use.(I) In May 1613, the Assembly ordered that goods brought into the City by strangers had to be taken to the Common Hall, if the goods could not be stored there, then they were to be stored in rooms over the Flesh Shambles, or in cellars known to the Mayor.(2) In October 1615 it was ordered that all corn brought into the City had to be sold in open market and not privately. This was part of a policy to protect the citizens and to ensure that all would be on an equal footing.

These regulations laid upon trade by the Assembly were designed to restrict the business of strangers. The only merchant strangers who were encouraged, were the Irish. A public proclamation of June 1607, made it lawful for all Irish merchants bringing linen yarn from Ireland, to retail their stock at their pleasure in the City upon the usual Wednesday and Saturday market days, either in their cellars or in open market to anyone wishing to buy, whether citizens or

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(I) City Archives. First Assembly Book. December 22nd, 1612.
(2) City Archives. First Assembly Book. May 26th, 1613.

strangers.(I) This was deliberately enacted to encourage the trade in linen yarn which Liverpool was attracting from Chester by the more favourable terms imposed by the farmers of the customs there. The restrictions imposed on merchant strangers must have been felt by the citizens themselves, to have been detrimental to trade. Thus, in January 1670, a proclamation, made with the express purpose of encouraging trade, ordered that imported foreign goods, after having been brought to the Common Hall, and after payment of the City custom, could be sold wholesale to anyone if, within three days public notice given by the Bellman, none of the citizens had offered to buy.(2)

All merchants had to pay the special dues to the City. In the sixteenth century there was "primage" to be paid. This was a general levy of 3½d. per ton imposed on all imported merchandise except corn.(3) There is no available record among the City Archives of this being collected in the seventeenth century. Merchants importing wines had to pay prisage to the farmers before 1639, and to the City, afterwards. Prisage was collected by the City throughout the eighteenth century. There was also a levy called Murage

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(I) City Archives. First Assembly Book June 18th, 1607.
(2) City Archives. Second Assembly Book. January 7th, 1670.
(3) First imposed to raise funds for building the New Quay at Neston.

which was intended for the maintonance of the City Walls. At the boginning of the seventeenth century Murage was levied on all goods coming in by sea except iron, wine, vinegar, oil and train oil, at the rate of 2½d. in the £.(I) The Muringers who collected the levy, informed the Assembly in 1605, that the Walls were in a ruinous state, in places likely to fall down if not quickly repaired, and this would not be easy because the Murage money had become so small as a result of the decreasing number of merchants bringing goods to the City.(2) During the century the collection of Murage dues was frequently inadequate. For example, in 1641 when the repair of the Walls was urgently required the Assembly ordered money to be taken for this purpose from the prisage of wines.(3) In the eighteenth century the funds were amply sufficient for the constant repair of the Walls. According to Hemingway more than £2000 were appropriated by the Corporation for those repairs, the large revenue being derived from the ships bringing cargoes of Irish linen cloth.(4) After 1740, dues were also levied by the River Doo Company for the maintenance of the New Channel. The City merchants objected firmly to the

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(I) British Museum. Harleian MSS. 2105. f. 379.
(2) City Archives. First Assembly Book. January 11th, 1604/5.
(3) City Archives. Second Assembly Book. June 1st, 1641.
(4) J. Hemingway, op.cit. vol.2, p.435.

scale of these dues, which were later reduced by Act of Parliament.

After 1750, the City merchants were accustomed to advertise details of their imported shipments and dates of auction sales, in the City newspapers. These advertisements might contain notices of "a cargo of fine, large Dantzick balks just imported"; or more specifically 30,000 feet of deal boards, mostly one inch thick, 5,000 feet of deal planks, 6,000 hogshead and 7,000 barrel staves from Maryland and Virginia, and 10 to 15 tons of Newfoundland oil to be auctioned at the Old Crane; or details of Irish salt hides freshly imported by William Corles in Pepper Street. This last consignment included cow hides from 80 to 90 lbs. weight, small cow hides from 50 to 60 lbs., and a few heavy bull hides. Corles's notice also referred to Dublin tallow, Cork and Dublin glue, and some fine white Irish feathers which he had for sale. Another merchant, Charles Woollam, on occasions advertised flax, hemp, and deal boards which he had shipped from Riga in the Baltic. Sometimes the advertisements just referred to a single item; perhaps "a very good London porter at three pounds five shillings per hogshead".(I)

The City merchants and ships captains also used the news-

(I) Adams's Courant Weekly. January 22nd, 1771; July 8th, 1777.

papers to inform the public when they had ships loading at London, and less frequently at Bristol. The London vessels were generally described as "choose ships and constant traders". They berthed in the Thames at Cotton's, Hay's, Symond's, or Boal's wharves. The arrival of a ship from Spain or Portugal with wine was announced in the papers with details of consignments for particular merchants.

There was considerable buying and selling of ships. Occasionally there were notices of sales of part shares in individual ships. For example, on February 26th, 1751, it was announced that the following items were to be offered for sale by auction at a coffee house in Eastgate Street on March 20th.

1. An eighth and a sixteenth part of shares in the Minerva (John Brown, Master) 100 tons, now at anchor at Parkgate.

2. Also a sixteenth part in the Triumph (John Berry, Master) 100 tons. Also at Parkgate and in the Dublin trade.(I)

In the following June, a sixteenth share in the Hibernia (Joseph Rylands, Master) 140 tons, then at anchor at Parkgate, was offered for sale.

(I) Adams's Courant Weekly.

Although a large number of ships in the Irish, the foreign, and the coastal trades used Chester as a port of call, Chester itself did not possess a large number of ships in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Previously the City had had more large ships than any of the other north-western ports. For example, a list of merchant ships compiled by the Surveyor of the Port of London in 1572, ascribed 15 ships to Chester (one of 120 tons, and eight of between 30 and 50 tons), 16 ships to Liverpool (of which the largest was 40 tons and of the remainder only three exceeded 30 tons), 7 to Hilbre, 4 to the Isle of Man, 2 each to Milford and Wallasey, and 1 each to Heswall, Lancaster and Chepstow.(1) One hundred years later Liverpool possessed 65 ships, with a total tonnage of 2600 tons.(2) Chester then had 17 ships with a combined tonnage of 836 tons. After 1670, the number of ships belonging to Chester increased considerably. The tonnage of Chester ships exceeded 2500 tons in the early years of the eighteenth century.

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(1) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, Addenda 1566-1579. p.440.
(2) R. Stewart-Brown, op.cit. p.17.

TONNAGE OF SHIPS BELONGING TO CHESTER AND LIVERPOOL 1709-1785(I)

	CHESTER				LIVERPOOL
Year	Tonnage of ships in overseas trade.	Tonnage of ships in coastal trade.	Tonnage of ships engaged in fishing.	Total tonnage.	Total tonnage.
1709	2039	590	30	2659	6385
1716	2824	550	-	3374	9506
1723	1404	503	-	1907	9250
1730	937	665	-	1605	11687
1737	1091	588	-	1679	14185
1744	904	420	-	1324	15932
1751	778	563	-	1341	21261
1755	606	435	-	1041	21892
1760	746	692	-	1438	25279
1765	606	1012	-	1618	34752
1770	1076	1160	-	2236	36370
1775	1349	640	-	1989	44386
1780	1080	500	-	1580	30241
1785	700	300	-	1000	55865

This table shows the decline in total tonnage belonging to Chester after reaching a maximum about 1716. There was a temporary revival in the 'seventies and again at the close of the century. Statistics for the later years of the century drawn up by Inspector-General of Customs subdivided the

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(I) British Museum. Add. MSS. 11255.

tonnage of individual ports according to the size of the ships and not according to overseas, coastal or fishing categories. The increase in the number of ships about 1800 did not bring the tonnage to exceed that belonging to the City at the beginning of the century. The ships were small, according to contemporary standards, being generally less than 150 tons burden, and the largest was 260 tons.

SIZE OF SHIPS AND TOTAL TONNAGE

BELONGING TO CHESTER IN

1795 and 1805(I)

Size of ships in tons.	1795 No.of ships.	1795 Tonnage.	1805 No.of ships.	1805 Tonnage.
Less than 20	4	77	4	57
21 to 40	7	236	8	267
41 to 60	4	223	11	591
61 to 80	2	126	5	339
81 to 100	2	164	3	271
101 to 120	4	411	2	218
121 to 140	3	384	1	132
141 to 160	2	293	-	-
161 to 180	-	-	-	-
181 to 200	-	-	1	190
201 to 220	-	-	-	-
221 to 240	-	-	1	227
241 to 260	-	-	1	260
TOTAL	28	1914	37	2552

(I) P.R.O. Customs 17/17 and 27.

In 1805, Liverpool possessed 970 ships with a tonnage of 164,563. It is important not to forget amid the details of Chester's trade in the eighteenth century, that the whole of this maritime activity was minute in comparison with the trade of Liverpool. The much smaller business of the Port of Chester reflected the character and function of the City, as well as the activity of the hinterland it served and the very difficult physical nature of the estuary of the River Dee.

CHAPTER 2.

THE NAVIGATION OF THE RIVER DEE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

As early as the fourteenth century, ships with heavy cargoes had to unload below the City. In 1357, for example, slates for Chester Castle were unloaded at Shotwick, and millstones for the Dee Mills at Burton, where, in 1373, the ships to convey troops to Ireland were ordered to assemble. Shipments of wine were often unloaded at creeks along the Wirral coast and brought up river in smaller boats.(I) The citizens made great use of the deterioration of the river navigation when petitioning the King to grant a reduction in the annual fee of £100, which they had had to pay since the granting of the City's charter by Edward I in 1300. The charter of Henry VI, in 1445, reduced the sum to £50 per year for fifty years. This charter contained a lengthy description of the poor state of the river. Likewise in 1484, the charter of Richard III repeated the earlier complaints of a "wreck of sea sands", filling the channel so that no merchant vessel could approach the City "for 12 miles or more". As a consequence, the payment was reduced to £30. Two years later this was further reduced to £20 per year by Henry VII. The

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(I) H.J.Hewitt, Mediaeval Cheshire, Manchester. 1929. p.140.

Great Charter of Henry VII, dated April 6th, 1506, confirmed this figure "and no more."(I)

Clearly it would have been in the interests of the citizens to exaggerate their difficulties. The figures given in the Sheriffs's Accounts of the number of ships entering the Dee estuary and the Port of Chester, do not substantiate a picture of decline and decay. In 1422, there were 35 ships listed; in 1504, 43 ships and in 1544, 153 ships.(2) The marked increase in the number of ships in the reign of Henry VIII was the opposite of what one might have expected from a study of the charters. But the silting of the river was undoubtedly very troublesome and ships had increasing difficulty in ascending the river as far as the City. A quay was built at Shotwick after an inquiry into the state of the river in 1449. This did not prove to be of lasting value.

(1)

THE NEW QUAY AT NESTON.

The building of the New Quay at Neston was the first

(I) R.H. Morris, op.cit. pp.458-59.
(2) Hist. Manus. Commission. vol.7. Eighth Report. pt.1. Appendix, p.373.

serious attempt by the citizens to overcome the restrictions imposed by the silting of the river.(I) The project was begun in 1547. A levy was then imposed on all the citizens. A grant of timber to a total of 200 trees was authorised from the royal forests in Flintshire and Cheshire. Charity money valued at £40 and donated by Henry VIII was to be used to bear the cost of transporting the trees. The site chosen for the quay was at Lightfoto Poole, near Neston. This site was by no means an ideal one, but it was the best available, possessing a narrow beach backed by low ground, a unique feature on this side of Wirral, which almost everywhere rose steeply from the Dee estuary. The construction work proved more expensive than had been first estimated. In 1550, the citizens wrote to the Marquis of Winchester, Lord of the Treasury, seeking money in aid of their new haven, then being built all of stone, "in the face and belly of the sea".(2) This, they wrote, would cost £5000 or £6000. In 1555, new levies were imposed on the citizens, and again in 1557, 1560 and 1567. The duty of primage of 3½d. per ton was imposed in 1557 on all imported cargoes except corn. In 1565, a great storm undid a large part of the work already completed, but

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(I) E.H. Ridgout. The Chester Companies and the Old Quay. Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Ches. vol.79, 1927.
(2) British Museum. Harleian MSS. No. 2082.

the citizens were undaunted, and they carried on with renewed vigour. It became the practice for one of the City councillors to spend a week on the site, supervising the work and checking, among other things, the unloading of ballast into the deep water of the anchorage. In 1569, Webb wrote that "a great part of the New Key was built this year".(I) Apart from this, there is no other record that the quay reached a stage near to completion. In less than twenty years the City Council was allocating money for the repair of the haven, and requesting the custom called "Dover Pier" for "finishinge of the New Haven and the maintenance of the decayed walls".(2) In fact, the work on the quay, impeded by the tides, the weather and shortage of money, was never completed. On March 31st, 1598, the Assembly appointed Alderman John Aldersey and Peter Newall, merchants, to be overseers of the New Quay. Merchants were reminded that all imports must be entered in the Customs Book, and primage paid.(3) This was needed for the repair of the New Quay. Apparently, no entries had been made for the previous two or three years. At the end of April, Aldersey and Newall reported on the serious decay of the New Quay. The Assembly resolved that all primage paid during the previous ten

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(I) Quoted in G. Ormerod. op.cit. vol.1., p.235.
(2) Assembly Orders. 90,95,105,106,264,583. R.H. Morris, op.cit. p.461.
(3) City Archives. First Assembly Book. March 31st, 1598.

years was to be used for repair work; the overseers were to engage a mason, Thomas Lewes; and the crane at the New Quay was to be repaired. In August, Aldersey and Newall put in their accounts for work done at their commissioning. In 1602, John Aldersey complained that he had to spend his own money on the work.(I) In 1604, the Mayor paid out £26.0s.8d. for the last repairs to be made.(2) These repairs must have been imperfect, because four years later the Commissioners of Sewers ordered a partial demolition of the New Quay.(3) Even in this imperfect condition, the New Quay was the principal loading point on the Wirral side of the estuary. It could accommodate ships of 80 or perhaps 100 tons. W. Webb, describing Wirral about 1600, wrote:-

> "Next neighbour (to Leighton) are the well known town, parish church, and port of Great Neston; the usual place where our passengers do so often lie waiting the leisure of winds. ... And here is the station of the ships called the New Key, where they embark and disembark both men, horses kine and all other commodities on the back of this Neston".(4)

(I) City Archives. First Assembly Book. 270.
(2) E.H. Rideout, op.cit. p.159.
(3) Hist. Manus. Commission, vol.7. Eighth Report, pt.1.p.382.
(4) W. Webb in Daniel King's The Vale Royal of England. London. 1656. p.125.

Not until the later years of the seventeenth century were ships using the anchorage at Parkgate in preference to the New Quay at Neston. The final eclipse of the New Quay by Parkgate took place in the early decades of the eighteenth century.

(ii)

1600 TO 1650. THE CAUSEWAY AND THE DEE MILLS.

The building of the New Quay was neither accompanied nor followed by any attempts to control the main river channel. The Commissioners of Sewers, appointed to improve the navigation, appear to have done very little. They were divided over the question of dealing with the causeway which obliquely crossed the river on the south side of the City. At one end of the causeway there were the Dee Mills, which belonged to the King; at the other end there were important fulling mills. When some of the Commissioners proposed in 1607, that the causeway should be taken down, the Company of Clothworkers, Shearmen and Fullers, petitioned the Mayor, who was himself a commissioner, and the Assembly.(I) The petition pointed out that the Company depended upon the three

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(I) City Archives, C/MC.79; and Harleian MSS. 2003, 2081.

fulling mills by the river, and the only means of conveying water to these mills was the stone causeway. They begged the Mayor and the Assembly to assist them "by a general certificate or otherwyse." If the causeway were taken down, the fulling mills would become useless and their trade would cease. The Assembly did not let them down. The petition was endorsed, "agreed by the whole assembly," and a resolution was passed to petition the King, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Lords of the Council. During the next few weeks (October 1607) the Assembly was busy drafting and approving these petitions. They petitioned the Lord Chancellor for a grant of "supersedeas" to discharge the Commissioners.(I) The letter to the Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer, contained the supplementary arguments that the demolition of the causeway would upset the supply of fresh water to the City from waterworks lately erected, and would hamper the local fishing. It was further pointed out that the Dee Mills had been used during the recent Irish Wars to grind great quantities of corn for the armies, and there were no other mills nearby.(2) In February 1608, the matter came before the Privy Council. Thomas Gamull, Recorder of the City, attended. In April, the case came before the Lord

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(I) City Archives. C/MC. 79-85.
(2) City Archives. C/MC. 82.

Chief Justices. The final decision forbade the demolition of the causeway.(I)

The Dee Mills and the causeway remained a bone of contention. An ordinance of Parliament dated October 1st 1647, laid down that the mills, "which constituted a great annoyance and obstruction to the trade of the City," should be demolished within four months at the City's own expense.(2) The ordinance further stipulated that new mills should be built by the City on Roodee or other suitable land. The City would continue to pay fee form rent to the Exchequer.

A petition of the Aldermen, Merchants and Citizens of the City of Chester to the House of Lords dated 1647, described the need for the demolition:-

"The River Dee is choked up and made unnavigable by reason of the stone causey erected near the City to serve the Dee Mills, which for many years have occasioned a great decay of trading, and frequent mundations on the Welsh side. The Commissioners of Sewers for those parts during King James's reign resolved that the causey should be demolished, but the resolution took no effect in regard of the power of those whose private interest in the Mills was concerned. Petitioners pray that they may have an ordinance for taking down the

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(I) Hist.Manus.Commission. Vol.7. Eighth Report, pt.1. p.382.
(2) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1645-7. p.475.

causey and mills, and that the materials may be used for erecting tide mills for the service of the City."(I)

In November 1648, twelve persons were appointed by the Assembly, as overseers to watch over the work of demolition. Shortly afterwards, Thomas Prenton, a mariner, was appointed principal workman. He was allocated £15 from the prisage of wines to pay for workmen, boats and materials. Further charges were to be defrayed from this source.(2)

The work of demolition was unsuccessful. A petition, dated 1648, from the Mayor and Aldermen of the City to the Privy Council stated that several breaches had been made in the causeway. This was found to be no remedy, because the river became more shallow and sandy. Added to this there was the problem of the Mills being out of action. Because there were no mills near the City, it would take a month to produce the quantity of biskett, required for the troops in Scotland and Ireland, which the Dee Mills could produce in ten days. If the Mills were removed, the petition complained, the City would be greatly distressed.(3)

There was another good reason for retaining the Mills. They were very profitable to the State from which they were

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(I) Hist.Manus.Commission. Vol.5. Sixth Report, p.172.
(2) City Archives, Second Assembly Book, November 27th and December 6th, 1648.
(3) City Archives, M/L 2.

rentod. In 1651, £220 was paid for tho lease of tho Mills, although tho leaseholders complained that tho Mills wore out of repair; that tho grist of malt, formerly tho most profitable business, was gone; and that they had been kept at a standstill for five months because of the lack of water during a period of severe drought. In July 1654, the leaseholders further complained that the profits were only £44, but they had paid £179 in rent.(I)

(iii)

1660 TO 1690. PROPOSALS TO IMPROVE THE WATERWAY.

In the years following the Restoration, attention was directed to the serious business of improving the river channel. In November 1660, the Mayor petitioned the Privy Council, explaining that the decline in trade was due to the obstruction of the river. There was a "daily increase of their poor," and the citizens requested a grant towards St. John's Hospital for the relief of the paupers. Further to this, the Mayor asked whether the Council would consider a

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(I) Calendar of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, vol.III, p.1875, and T.S.Willan, Chester and the Navigation of the Dee, 1600-1750. Jour. of Chester & N.Wales. Archit., Archaeol. and Hist.Soc. New Series. Vol.XXXII, pt.i, 1937.

plan to improve their trade and make the river navigable.(I)

In 1666, the Mayor and forty-two citizens petitioned the King to appoint commissioners to examine the river which had "become so shallow by the sea working its way into rivulets on the Welsh shore," that it could not bring up a vessel of 20 tons.(2) In 1670, leave was granted to the City to bring a bill before Parliament to make the river navigable between the City and the sea.(3) No immediate action was taken to do this but Andrew Yarranton was consulted.(4) He found Neston, presumably the New Quay, "a very bad harbour," where ships of 20 tons were forced to be aground because they could not come up to the City. However, Yarranton was an enthusiast, full of ideas and schemes. He visualised the River Dee being made navigable to Bangor (14 miles above Chester). From here a canal could be made to the River Severn, from which canal links to the Avon and the Thames could be made to establish a through waterway from Chester to London. He proposed that an artificial channel should be constructed on the Welsh side of the river, from just below the Watergate to Flint Castle. This main channel would have locks and sluices at each end, and would be wide enough for two vessels to pass. From Flint

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(I) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1660-1, p.391.
(2) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1665-6, p.436.
(3) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1670. p.87.
(4) A.Yarranton. England's Improvement by Land and Sea. London, 1677. p.191.

Castle a large cut would lead across the sands to the vicinity of Parkgate.

"The River Dee, being let down upon a sudden through the great Tronch, will cause the sands to fly and deepen the Channel, and thereby make the Harbour safe, and help to open and deepen the Bar. But it must be done when the Tyde is going out, and when the Wind bloweth hard at East, with a strong fresh of Water coming off the Mountains".(I)

The locks were a very important part of Yarranton's scheme. He also proposed a subsidiary canal to link the collieries at Aston, near Hawardon, to the Dee near Flint.

Yarranton must have noticed that the river channel was moving towards the Welsh shore. This had been mentioned in the citizens' petition of 1666. In 1689, the customs officers also reported on the deterioration of the Cheshire side of the river.(2) In October of that year, the transport ships, collected to carry troops to Ireland, were ordered to use Parkgate, the New Quay or Denwall. It was reported that the places were inconvenient, so the Collector at Chester was asked to examine the situation. He replied that the lying-grounds at Parkgate were not suitable for the larger vessels,

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(I) A. Yarranton, op.cit. p.192.
(2) Calendar of Treasury Books. Vol.IX, 1689. pp.284, 292, 300.

which should anchor in the Hoylake, but they were perfectly safe for the normal ships of Chester which were chiefly built for the coal trade and designed to lie aground. At this time, it was becoming the practice for some of the larger ships to pass Parkgate and proceed directly to Chester on high tides, following the Welsh coast. To intercept these vessels which kept close to the Welsh shore or passed Parkgate at night, the Customs Commissioners appointed in 1704, two extra boatmen with a boat based on Chester.(I)

Yarranton's proposals stimulated great interest in the river. In May 1687, Andrew Barry and others petitioned James II. They were primarily interested in reclaiming salt marshes in Flintshire. They hoped that by recovering the marsh lands, the river could be made navigable. They explained that the river was formerly navigable for vessels of good burden to the walls of the City, but of late years great quantities of earth had been washed into the channel by the violence of the tides, thus rendering the channel useless for shipping for 8 or 9 miles below the City. They particularly wanted to reclaim the area known as Flint Common or Heath on the south side of the river, an area of about 400 acres, which was largely used as a cattle pasture. They hoped that coal or lead might be found

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(I) Calendar of Treasury Books, Vol.XIX. 1704. p.235.

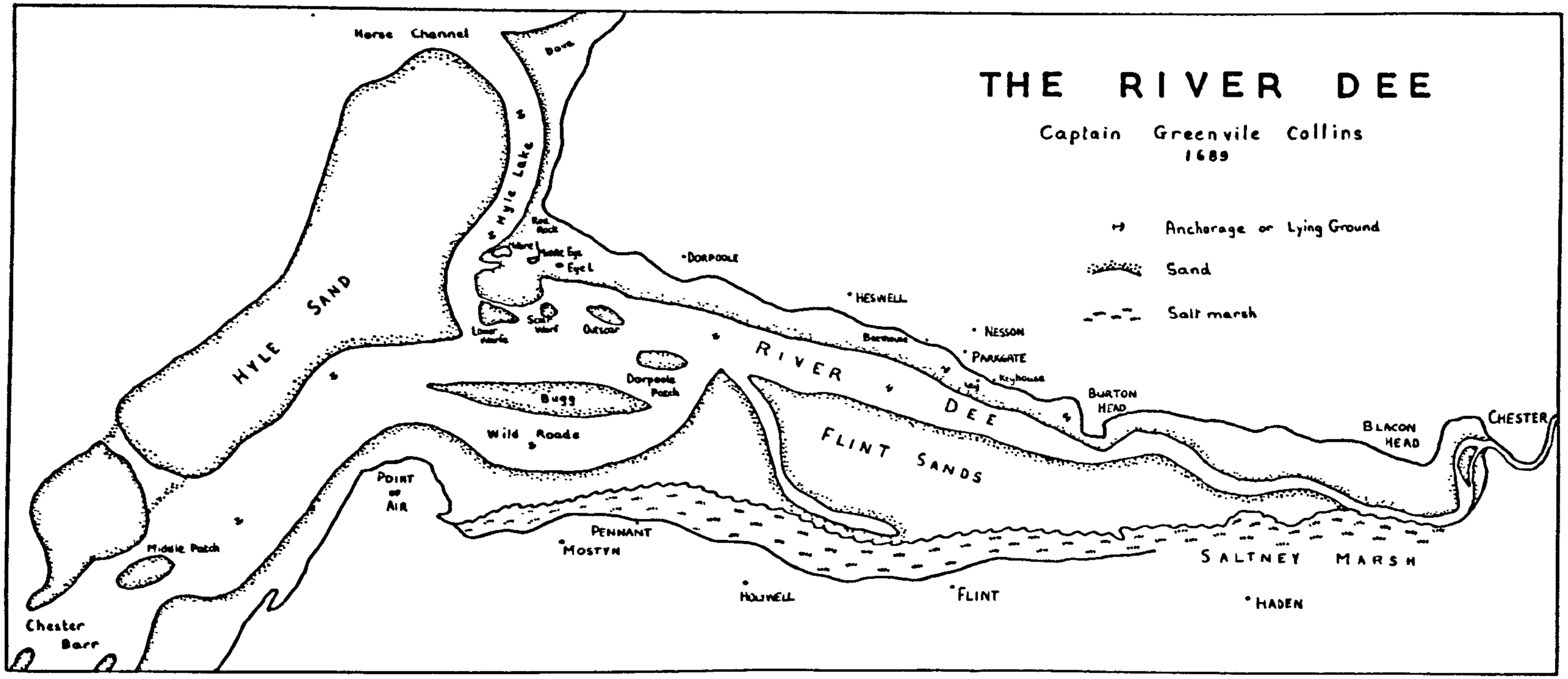
here, and they prayed for a 99-year lease of all lands they reclaimed from the sea on both sides of the river between Chester Bar and the City, on payment of 4 pence per acre for Flint Common, and 6 pence per acre for any other waste they reclaimed. The Deputy Surveyor-General approved of the scheme, but because the lands were used as cattle pastures between tides, and the rights of pasturage were claimed by several persons, he ordered a Commission of Inquiry to investigate. The Commission held public inquiries at Flint in November 1691, and at Neston in February 1692.(I)

But during this time Andrew Barry had assigned his interests to Francis Gell, a London Merchant; and Captain Collins had made the first accurate chart of the Dee estuary. Captain Collins was Hydrographer to the Admiralty, and his chart, published in 1689, was entitled "A New and Exact Survey of the River Dee or Chester Water." (The chart must have been very valuable to the Commission of Inquiry in its deliberations). He had given a copy to the City, which valued it enough to present him with a gift of £20, drawn from the City Treasurer's Account.(2)

(I) Calendar of Treasury Books. Vol.VIII, pt.iii, 1687.
(2) City Archives. Third Assembly Book. November 19th, 1686.

THE RIVER DEE

Captain Greenvile Collins
1689



(iv)

THE SURVEY OF CAPTAIN GREENVILE COLLINS.

At the mouth of the estuary, the chart showed a great bank of sand, some 12 miles in length, called the Hoyle Bank, or Hyle Sand. This was always above high water except for an hour or so at a high spring tide when it showed as a rippling. To enter the estuary ships usually came in from the west over Chester Bar. This was a safe route with deep water, in spite of a few patches of shifting sand. Once over the Bar, ships could follow one of three routes.

1. They could proceed direct to the good anchorage of Hoyle (Hyle) Lake. Here the big ships for Liverpool assembled to put out part of their cargo before sailing along the Wirral coast to the Mersey. At this time the Formby Channel route into Liverpool had not been buoyed or beaconed, and so was of little use.
2. They could sail into the Wild Road. The coal ships used the Wild Road, either anchoring in the Road and loading from smaller craft, or lying aground at Mostyn Mark or Pennant Gutter, about a mile and a half to the west. The coal ships could sail from Mostyn Mark on a neap tide.

3. Vessels going up the river avoided the Out Scar Rocks by keeping close to Bugg Side. Then they made over to the Wirral shore. They could anchor in 3 fathoms at Dawpool, or they could proceed along the main channel to Parkgate. Here an anchorage was available in 8 fathoms. Lying-grounds were available at Parkgate, by the Quay House at Neston, and at Denwall by Burton Head. No soundings were marked on the chart beyond Burton Head. The larger vessels could only reach Chester on the high spring tides.

The chart also marked the broad expanse of the Flint Sand, separating the main channel from the Welsh coast. A shallow, curving channel extended from opposite Dawpool to Bagillt, but not as far as Flint. Just by Blacon Head the channel itself was obstructed by a sandbank, three quarters of a mile long.

This chart emphasized three important features of the navigation of the Dee at this time; firstly, the availability of the Hoyle Lake as an anchorage; secondly, the use of the Wild Road for the colliers supplied with coal from the mines at Mostyn; and thirdly, the effective limit for the larger ships was Parkgate.

(v)

1690 TO 1700 FURTHER SCHEMES.

In 1693, Evan Jones made a proposal to enable the channel to accommodate ships of 100 tons.(I) In return for his work he would receive the lands reclaimed, pay rent to the Crown, and exact duties on shipments of coal, lime and limestone. The duty on coal would have been one shilling per ton. His schedule was well received by the City Assembly, but members were not satisfied about granting the duty on coal before the work was completed. They rejected the proposal.(2)

In 1695, Francis Gell, who had taken over Barry's pretensions to the proposed reclaimed lands in Flintshire, obtained a grant from the Crown, of several marshes and commons, chiefly along the Flintshire side of the Dee. These salt marshes and sandbanks extended about 20 miles in length, and in several places, about 6 miles in breadth. In the following year he was associating himself with the City in its effort to make the river navigable right up to the City walls. In January 1696, leave was granted in the House of Commons for a

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(I) J.H. Hanshall. History of the County Palatine of Chester, Chester, 1817-23. p.78.
(2) City Archives. C/MC. 90,91.

bill to be introduced to make the Doe navigable. It was then proposed that Gell should take on the responsibilities of Undertaker. This provoked lively discussion, but little positive action. In December 1699, the Mayor and Citizens were again petitioning Parliament for the introduction of a bill to recover the navigation.(I) The main channel, they said, had become so "various and uncertain", that the navigation to the City was almost lost. Many pamphlets were printed, arguing for and against the proposed improvements. Those pamphleteers emphasized that the main channel disappeared at low tide among the loose shifting sands immediately below the City. At one point it became a "mere Flash of Water." As a consequence, they said, ships were forced to stay below Burton Head. A contributory cause to the infilling of the channel was the unloading of ballast in the Wild Road by coal ships returning from Dublin. The material was driven up the river by the tides, and then trapped in the numerous nets placed by fishermen in the channels among the sands. As these channels became blocked, so the tides and freshes formed new ones. As a result, the sands in the upper part of the estuary were scoured by a network of constantly changing, shallow channels. The need for constraining the river within a single

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(I) Jour.H. of C. vol.XIII, p.36.

channel was imperative.(I)

In spite of the difficulties, the hopes expressed in the pamphlets were high. Ships of 100 tons burden would be able to reach Chester, and so trade, it was argued, would be improved, particularly the cheese and the salt trade. Nantwich had earlier petitioned in favour of such a bill on the grounds that it would improve trade in these commodities specially important to her.(2) On the other hand, imports would be more easily handled by Chester. In particular, the City would be able to receive its coal more easily from Mostyn, Flint and Bagillt. At that time coal could only come by boat from these localities at high spring tides. Consequently, the citizens were dependent on the pits at Aston and Hawarden. Improved navigation would mean cheaper coal. One pamphleteer wrote: "The colliers at Hawarden and Aston cannot then set the dice and make such exactions upon the citizens as they do now."(3) By improving the main channel, the marshlands, too would benefit. At this time Saltney Marsh was "in part overflown by every Tide, and the whole on Spring Tides, except some small parts" which had been

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(I) The Case of the River Dee and Reasons for making the River Dee navigable. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 3323.
(2) Jour. H. of C. vol.XI, p.707.
(3) Reasons for Recovering the Navigation upon the River Dee, about 1700. British Museum, 8138, p.1.155.

properly embanked and recovered.(I) Sheep and cattle were frequently lost when a strong west wind sprang up immediately before a high spring tide. These were the main advantages, the petitioners claimed, which would result from the passing and execution of the Bill. But there were also objections to the Bill. There was opposition from the Flintshire land-owners, who had commons and pastures on the marshes, and from the local colliery owners. Freeholders of the Vale of Clwyd petitioned against the Bill, fearing lest the reduction of the River Dee to a narrow channel might cause flooding of their lands. The main Flintshire opposition centred around Gell himself, as the man chosen by the Mayor and Corporation to undertake the project. The writer of a pamphlet entitled "The Case of the Gentleman Freeholders and Other Inhabitants of the County of Flint Against Mr. Gell's Bill" revealed the suspicions the Flintshire landowners had towards him.(2) The writer recalled how Gell had leased marshland from the Crown in November 1695. The next year, after trying unsuccessfully to dispossess the freeholders of their rights of commons, he "had thought it proper to agree with the City of Chester for making the River Dee navigable from the sea to the City."

(I) Calendar of Treasury Books, 1695. vol.X.pt.III, p.1219.
(2) British Museum, 1888. c.11.1.

Added to this, "Mr. Gell doth not pretend to be an Artist that way and it may be too chargeable an undertaking for one man." There were these personal factors on top of so many other valid reasons against the Bill; it would "ruin many thousands of poor cottagers and labourers that do get their livelihood by carriages of coal and lime to Chester;" several harbours and docks along the river which had always enjoyed the benefit of exporting coal, would be ruined without recompense; it would stop land carriage across the river "by which the poor neighbouring tenants pay their rents;" the inshore fishing by poor people would be lost; and there was no time limit in which the navigation would be perfected, but the duties on coal and lime would commence once the work began.

But the Bill was passed in 1700, and the work was entrusted to Gell.(I) The scheme was to be financed by the special duties raised on all coal, lime and limestone, coming into the City. Even that coming by road was dutiable, because, so it had been argued, not enough came by river to pay the cost of improvement. To collect these duties, the Mayor had not only to appoint collectors, but also to arrange for special public places, where the commodities could be sold. The

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(I) 11 and 12. William, c.24.

Assembly Order of April 25th, 1700, appointed Robert Lownds and Richard Vernon to be collectors of the duties, which were fixed at ¾d. for every barrel of coals of 200 lbs. weight, and 2d. for every barrel of lime or limestone. All loads brought by land transport, would have to be sold in the public market place in Bridge Street. In the event of non-payment, the boat, or horse and cart, were liable to confiscation.

The new channel was planned to be cut on the Cheshire side. This must have been the intention, because the owners of Blacon Manor were authorised to set up sluices, if the channel was cut nearer than 450 yards to the south of Blacon House. Seven commissioners were to be appointed to mark out the channel across the sands. If the river was no longer fordable at low water, as a consequence of these works, the Mayor was to maintain two free ferry boats. An arbitration board would be set up to deal with any complaints from landowners.

In this manner, with vigour and optimism, the eighteenth century began with the prospect of the River Dee becoming navigable once again for ships of 100 tons, from the sea to the City walls.

CHAPTER 3.

The Navigation of the River Dee in the Eighteenth Century.

Mr. Gell and the citizens of Chester had pitted their abilities against a treacherous enemy - the loose, white, skittering sands of the Dee. Celia Fiennes gave a feeling account of crossing the estuary on horse-back a few hours after the tide had receded, when the sands were "as smooth as a Die".

"Ye sands are here soe loose yt the tide does move them from one place to another at every flood; yt the same place one used to fford a month or two before is not to be passed now; for as it brings the sands in heaps to one place so it leaves others in deep holes, which are covered with water and loose sand that would swallow up a horse, or carriages."(1)

Labourers, stone masons, joiners, carpenters, carters and boatmen were engaged - and paid for out of the duties on minerals. A cut was marked out across Blacon Marsh under the direction of Sir Henry Sheers, Secretary of the Ordnance. Timber was bought at 35 shillings per ton, and laid out between the Roodee and Blacon Point, according to directions

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(1) Celia Fiennes, op. cit. p. 151.

given by Shoors.[1] This is all the information available about the work until 1707. In October 1707, Peter Shakerley wrote to the Mayor, desiring him to accept £5 per year to help the work of improving the river. He wished that his money would be used in making works on the Saltney side, parallel to, and remote from, the channel between Brewer's Halt and Blacon Point. He began his letter, "I having received information that there is great hopes of the recovery of the navigation of your river to the Point of Roodee with as great vessels as can come to Neston ..."[2]

In February that year, Nicholas Jennings, a timber merchant from Stepney, wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen, offering to make the Dee navigable up to the walls of the City, for vessels drawing no more than nine feet of water, at all except unusually low neap tides.[3] He promised that the cost of the work would not exceed £6,000. The offer was declined on the ground that the river was already navigable up to the City at all spring tides by vessels drawing nine feet of water. In 1708, the proposal came before the Assembly again. This time it was said that Gell had found "The Charge

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(1) City Archives; Third Assembly Book, June 13th, 1700; May 16th, 1701.

(2) City Archives; C/MC 104. A surprisingly small sum.

(3) Hist Manus Commission Vol.7., Eighth Report, Pt. 1.p.394

to be so great, and the difficulties to enclose any part of it, so many". The work was described as "some small attempts"to make the Dee navigable, all of which had"proved ineffectual and to no purpose." On this occasion, Jennings' proposal was referred to the Committee for the Navigation. In July, 1708, this Committee approved the recommendation to employ Jennings. The certificate of the Committee was signed by the Mayor, the Recorder, and nine others.(1)

In May, 1709, articles of agreement were drawn up between the Mayor and Citizens and Jennings. Jennings and his co-partners were to be employed for the next three years and four months in constructing works on both sides of the river to make the Dee navigable between the ground near the City, and Holywell Brook in Flintshire. At their own cost they would make a wall, or work, of timber or other suitable material along the Holywell Brook from high water mark to the channel of the river. When Jennings had completed this work, the Mayor and citizens would pay him £100.

The duties on coal, lime and limestone continued. In March 1711, the Assembly laid down that the market place for all coal and lime brought into the City through Handbridge would be at the Maypole in Handbridge. The market place for

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(1) City Archives, C/MC 105 - 107.

that brought to the City by the river, would be at the New Tower. In April, the Committee for the Navigation of the Dee confirmed the appointment of Richard Vernon, Thomas Reece, and Peter Nichols, the younger, as collectorsof the duties.(1)

It is tantalising that we know so little about the work of Gell and Jennings!(2) In January 1709 Peter Shakerley was urging the Customs Commissioners to authorize new lawful loading places, because the merchants of Chester were complaining that the legal quays for the City were unsafe for ships in westerly winds. After enquiry, the Commissioners authorized official loading places to be at Burton Head and at the City itself.

In 1730, Nathaniel Kinderley was seeking support to make the river navigable for ships of 200 tons, and offering to procure an Act of Parliament at his own expense. This would indicate that the success of the earlier work was ephemeral. Perhaps a correct appraisal lies in the words of the pamphleteer, who wrote "to confine the river on the loose shifting sands in the Channel on the Cheshire side is impossible, as hath been already experienced by an attempt by the citizens."(3) So, it would seem, Gell and Jennings were defeated by the sands.

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(1) City Archives C/MC 108-109.
(2) P.R.O.T.I. 120.
(3) The Case of the Citizens of Chester in answer to the Several Petitions from Liverpool, Parkgate and the Choosemongers, British Museum 816 in 8.38.

(i)

The work of Kinderley.

So far, no scheme for recovering the navigation had been backed by sufficient capital. Soon after Kinderley's proposal had been made, Sir Richard Grosvenor, the Member of Parliament for Chester, wrote to the Mayor offering to invest £10,000 in the design. On February 7th, 1732, two petitions, one from the Mayor and Citizens, the other from the Gentlemen, Merchants, Principal Traders, Mariners and Inhabitants of the City of Chester, were read to the House of Commons, asking leave for a bill to be introduced to recover the navigation. The House ordered that a Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Grosvenor, should examine the matter and report to the House.(1)

The evidence presented to the Committee, revealed the hazards to ships using Parkgate, and the very real difficulties when they attempted to proceed to the City itself. One of the witnesses, Captain John Stevens, described Parkgate as "a very bad and dangerous harbour for ships to be at," as they were exposed to the winds and their bottoms were often damaged by running aground on the very hard marl rock, which was found here. He described how his ship had several times

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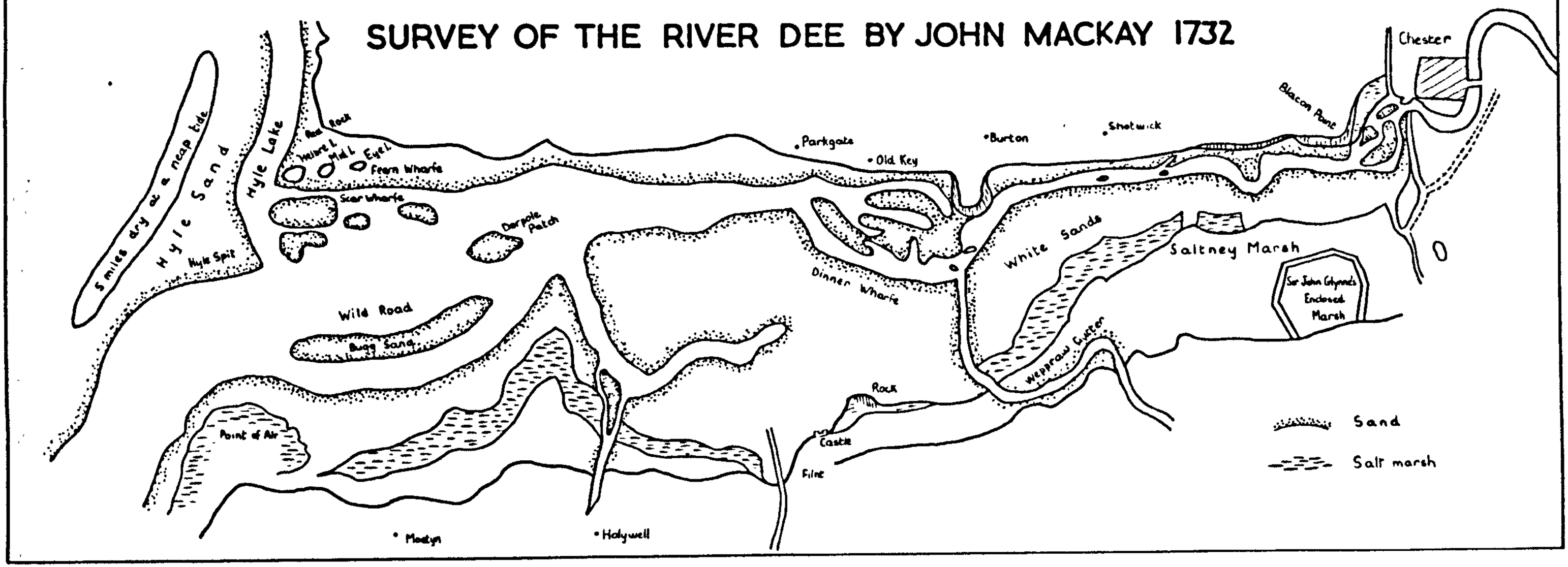
(1) Jour H. of C. vol. XXI, p. 790.

been blown ashore. On one occasion, a 60 ton ship of his, could only load some 40 tons of her cargo, and then, with the water and loose sand running over the deck, he was forced to unload half the cargo in order to sail the ship down the river. To send cargo from Parkgate to Chester, small boats had to be used at the cost of two shillings per ton. Captain Stevens pointed out, that even these small ships had difficulty in making the journey, because a high neap tide only raised the level of the water by one foot at Chester. However, with a high spring tide, and a strong westerly wind, the level would rise by 10 or 12 feet. With these spring tides, he had known flat bottomed ships of 40 to 50 tons, engaged in the Irish trade, to reach the City. Other witnesses said that bigger vessels of 100 to 150 tons had been able to ascend on spring tides, but all agreed that at the time of the inquiry, only small boats sailed from Parkgate to Chester. For larger vessels it was a hazardous undertaking, as exemplified by the case of a 30 ton vessel from Liverpool, laden with sugar, which was lost off Burton Head. George Prescott strongly advocated the construction of enclosing walls for the main channel. Even if the undertaking failed, he said, the navigation could not be worse.

Kinderley himself gave more precise data about the depths of water in the navigable channels which he had surveyed during the previous two years. When the water at Parkgate

SURVEY OF THE RIVER DEE BY JOHN MACKAY 1732



rose 27 feet, with the highest spring tides, a rise of 10 feet was observed at Chester. However, many of the high neap tides failed to reach the City. For example, a high tide producing 10 feet at Parkgate, became one of two feet in the channels among the sand in the area between Burton Head and Blacon Point, and was dissipated before reaching Chester. His observations were later confirmed by Mr. John Mackay who, as land agent to Sir Thomas Grosvenor, had made a similar survey of the river. Kinderley then proposed to the Committee, that the river should be diverted from its existing channel, into a new one, which would be constructed across Saltney Marsh, following approximately the line proposed by Yarranton, almost sixty years before. He estimated the total cost at between forty and fifty thousand pounds; but in return for this outlay, he expected some 6,000 acres of waste land would be reclaimed, and the concentrated flow of the river would be sufficient to keep clear a 15 foot channel as far as Chester, so reviving the City's trade. His proposals were approved by the Committee, which resolved that a bill should be prepared. This Bill was introduced in March 1733.(1)

The proposed scheme encountered considerable opposition.

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(1) Jour H. of C. XXI pp. 812-13. XXII p.69.

sea captains complained that the weakness of the scheme lay in the false hopes that the river would find a good deep channel for itself between Flint, and the Wirral coast, in the vicinity of Parkgate.

A vigorous protest came from the Cheesemongers of London, who claimed to be concerned in more than two-thirds of the trade of Chester. They said they had built a fleet of 20 ships to bring cheese from Liverpool and Chester, and with each ship they generally made three voyages a year. The New Cut would be too shallow, as their boats drew at least 11 feet, and they would be unable to turn in so narrow a compass. Furthermore, the dues were too heavy, and there would be much delay and expense for them, when their normal weighing and checking arrangements usual at Parkgate and Liverpool became more difficult, as the old course of the river silted up.(1)

The Quaker London Lead Company opposed the Bill, because the pig lead and litharge which the Company produced was at that time carried in small boats from Bagillt Mark to Parkgate, where it was loaded on to the cheese ships as ballast. The distance to Parkgate was about three miles, and the freight charges were 1s.6d. per ton. If the river was made navigable, the cheese ships would proceed right up to Chester, and the

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(1) The Case of the Cheesemongers, British Museum 357.c.1 (28)

Company's load would have to be carried 12 miles in small boats before loading, and dues would have to be paid for use of the improved waterway.(1)

The landowners in Flintshire, who held grazing rights on the marshes were opposed to the scheme, because they did not want the right to the reclaimed lands to be granted to the Undertakers, especially as Kinderley envisaged the reclamation of 7,000 or 8,000 acres.(2)

A protest also came from John Mackay, whose survey the river in 1732 we have already mentioned. He addressed a petition to the House of Lords, in which he pointed out;

> "That y^{e} almost straight and uninterrupted course of y^{e} river is to be turned through an unexperienced Cutt, and from thence through uncertain crooked channels over loose shifting sands.
>
> That y^{e} sand and soyl in y^{e} Cutt is no less than Six Millions of solid yards, y^{e} greatest part thereof is proposed to be scoured as fast as possible towards Hoyle Lake and y^{e} Barr.
>
> Between Chester, Flint and Parkgate, 7 or 8,000 acres are proposed to be gained from y^{e} sea, by w^{h} means

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(1) A. Raistrick, op.cit.p 115.
(2) Jour. H. of C. Vol. XXI p.867; vol.XXII p.92

no less than 200 Millions of Tons of Tyde will be prevented from flowing twice (i.e. twice in 24 hours) w.h on y.e reflux acquireth the greater velocity to scour and keep open y.o Lake and Barr"

In conclusion he wrote:

"Whether those ill consequences w.h must certainly attend y.o present undertaking are not more likely to destroy y.o present navigation in Hoyle Lake and y.o River Dee, rather than to recover and preserve a better, is humbly submitted to y.o Rt. Hon. the House of Lords".(1)

Two contemporary pamphlets gave the substance of the reply by the citizens of Chester, to these criticisms. The state of the navigable channel had become so bad that nothing, they said, could make it worse. "Of late the Tides and West Winds have brought up such vast quantities of sand that it is choaked, and ships can get no further than Parkgate." They felt the new course had to be on the Welsh side, since they remembered the failure of earlier schemes. Furthermore, the citizens complained that all traffic had to pass through Parkgate, either from thence to the City by land-carriage, or by

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(1) This commentary was engraved on the chart of the River Dee made by John Mackay in 1732, and now in the Bodleian Library; quoted in extense by Rev. A. Hume, Outline of the Sea Coast of Cheshire. Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Ches., vol. XI. 1859.

boat at expensive rates. So much was lost or damaged in those small boats, that all Irish wool, Irish linen, silks and almost all other goods, apart from cheese and wine, were sent by land-carriage, which was the dearer of the two methods of transport.(1)

On May 2nd, 1733, the Bill had its Third Reading, and was passed by 68 votes to 20 and taken to the House of Lords.(2) This Act to recover and preserve the navigation of the River Dee empowered Kinderley and his assigns to make and keep the river navigable at their own cost. Kinderley had to nominate undertakers, who had to be enrolled within twelve months, and no ground was to be cut until the enrolment had taken place. They had to deposit £10,000 in South Sea Annuity Stock, to answer damages. Assisted by these undertakers, Kinderley was to proceed with his plan of cutting a new course for the river, on the Welsh side, in the direction of Flint; the new cut providing 16 foot of water at a moderate spring tide and being 300 feet in width "from bank to bank at full sea." The work had to be completed by Lady Day, 1740.

When the river was navigable then duties could be exacted on shipping by the Undertakers at the following rates.

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(1) British Museum, 357.c.1.37; 816 m 8.38.
(2) Jour. H. of C. vol. XXII p.136; 6 Geo.II c.30.

(1) 6d. per ton of goods in all ships to or from places between St. David's Head and Carlisle.
(Paving stones, slates and oysters excepted)

(2) 9d. per ton for goods to or from places between St. David's Head and Lands End; Carlisle and the Shetland Islands.

(3) 1/6d. per ton for goods to or from other places in Great Britain, Ireland and the Isle of Man.

(4) 2s. per ton for goods to or from foreign places.
(except pitch, tar and timber, for which the rates were 1s. per ton)

(5) 6d. per ton for goods shipped within the Port of Chester.

(6) 6d. per ton for all vessels used by the London Cheesemongers not lading at Chester (i.e. freighted by boats or keels.)

Special clauses had been introduced to arrange for Commissioners to settle disputes. If the cheese vessels drawing 14 foot could not safely use the river, then a prompt examination had to be arranged. The penalty for emptying ballast into the river was fixed at £20. Royalties and liberties of fishing were not to be prejudiced. If it became impossible to ford the river on horse-back, the Commissioners might order two free ferry boats.

Forty Undertakers were enrolled in December, 1733.[1] Fifteen of them were Chester citizens. They included seven gentlemen, a grocer, a linen draper, a merchant, a baker, a doctor, an apothecary and two spinsters. Seventeen of the Undertakers were from London. The estimated cost of the work was between £40,000 and £50,000.

On April 20th, 1734, the first sod was cut, and the work proceeded with vigour; but even while the construction was in progress, there was continued criticism, especially from engineers. One of them, Thomas Badeslade, who had made a reputation in the draining of the Fenlands, published a pamphlet in 1735, in which he aimed to show that this Act to recover and preserve the navigation of the Dee, would "destroy the Navigation, and occasion the Drowning of all Lowlands adjacent to the River."[2] The New Cut was, in his opinion, too high, too long, and of too slight a gradient. "The new canal is so very shallow and of too high a situation, that an ordinary tide will scarcely reach its bottom." Consequently, "a spring tide which puts any water up into the Canal will ebb out again before the tide in the old river is fallen off the White Sands and will drop its silt and not

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(1) British Museum Add. Mss. 11,394.

(2) T. Badeslade. Reasons humbly offered to the Consideration of the Public. Chester 1735. British Museum 190 d 15.1. The New Cut Canal, Chester 1736, British Museum 190 d. 15.2.

grind the Canal. He was convinced a causeway should not be built to divert the river from the old course, so destroying the invaluable, but not ideal, outport of Parkgate, and the New Canal needed to be made deeper. He compared the likely consequences with the disastrous happenings to Wisbech, Lynn, Spalding, and Rye where similar drainage had been effected. Badeslade's pamphlet was followed by Grundy's outlining "The Philosophical and Mathematical Reasons" against the work. Grundy was equally pessimistic, but he was not wholly in agreement with Badeslade's Fenland analogies.(1)

In spite of the criticisms, work on the scheme continued with vigour. In April 1737, the river was diverted into the New Channel. This work of Kinderley seemed to offer great promise. Success or failure lay very much in the state of the channel below the exit from the New Channel, where the river was expected to cut its own deep trough across to the Wirral side. We are fortunate in possessing a survey of the river and its approaches, made by Samuel Foaren and John Eyes, in 1736 and 1737, and published in the following year with descriptive notes and sailing directions. It offers comparison with the chart of Captain Greenville Collins, and it anticipates the serious problems about to upset navigation

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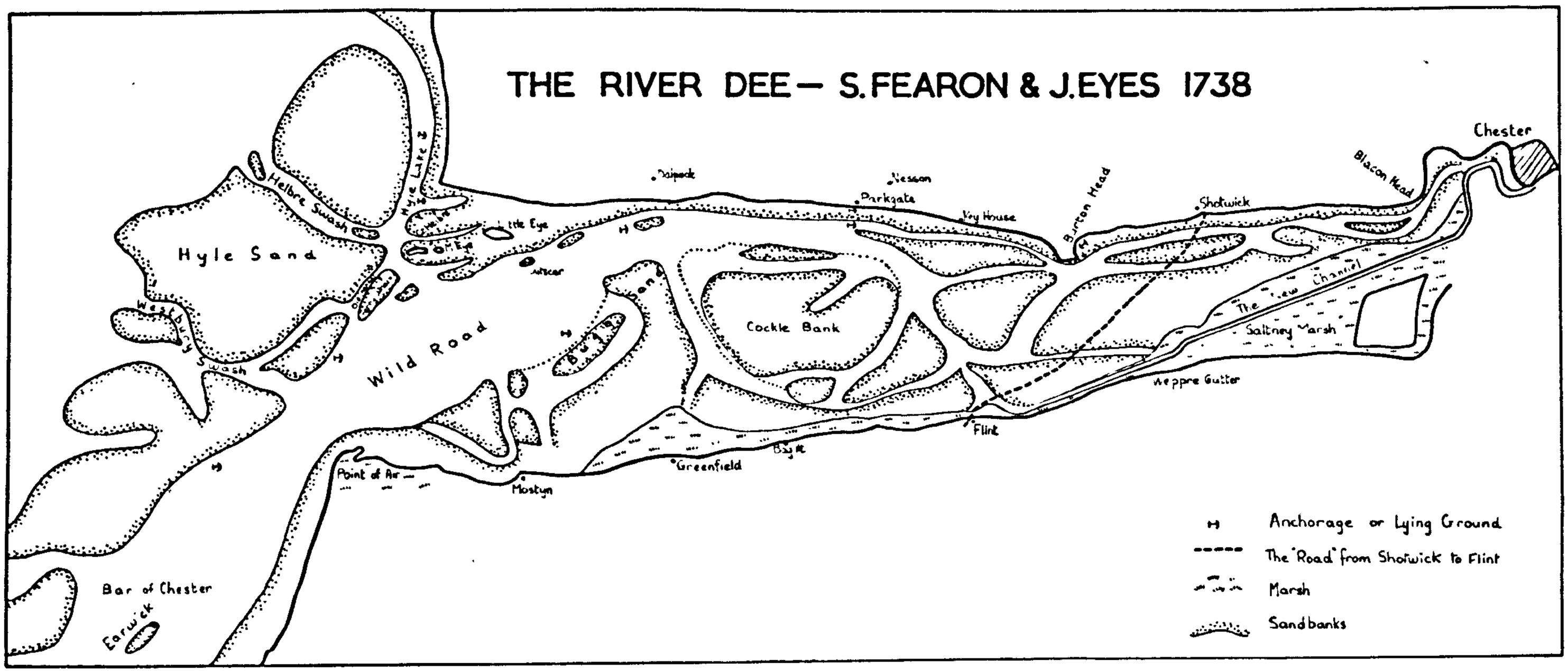
(1) J. Grundy. Philosophical and Mathematical Reasons. Chester 1735. British Museum 190. d. 15.4.

THE RIVER DEE — S. FEARON & J. EYES 1738



in the lower part of the estuary.(1)

(ii)

The Survey of Fearon and Eyes.

The chart marked the New Channel, but in error this was extended almost to Flint, whereas Kinderley's embankments finished a little above Wepre. As the survey was being made while the work was in progress, it is important as a basis for estimating the validity of some of the arguments put forward in support of, and against the enterprise.

Above Parkgate, the channel had become more congested with sandbanks, and contained less water than in the time of Greenville Collins. On the chart, Fearon and Eyes marked depths at low water spring tides: between Chester and Parkgate no depths greater than three-quarters of a fathom were recorded. The channel itself had narrowed at Parkgate, because of the extension towards Wirral, of the Flint Sands, in part named by Fearon and Eyes, the Cockle Bank. At Parkgate there was a depth of about 3 fathoms at low water, and here several vessels could anchor, but most of them generally lay aground. They considered it unnecessary to give sailing directions for ascent of the river above Parkgate, because the channel was

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(1) S. Fearon and J. Eyes. A Description of the Sea Coast of England and Wales: From Black-Comb in Cumberland to the Point of Linus in Anglesea. 1738.

very liable to change. The lying ground at Burton Head was described as the "best .. of any place in this river."

Below Parkgate, changes had taken place at Dawpool, about which Fearon and Eyes wrote "it was the best place in the River, both for good lying and early coming to and from the Sea; but now a Bank lies where the best of the Road was, which dries at low water." Even more drastic changes had occurred on the Welsh side, opposite Dawpool. Whereas in 1689 the Bugg Sand was a narrow sand patch, separating the Wild Road from the main channel, by 1737 sand flats had extended to the former location of the Wild Road where the colliers had anchored awaiting cargoes from Mostyn. Fearon and Eyes named the main channel as the Wild Road, and marked several anchorages, and lying grounds near the Point of Air. According to their sailing directions, it was still possible for small boats to reach Mostyn, although the channel was narrow, crooked and liable to alter. The same applied to the approach to Bagillt. They commented that the lead of Bagillt and Holywell was generally carried in small vessels, being later put aboard larger ones, lying at Parkgate, Hoylake or even Liverpool.

Fewer changes had taken place at the western end of the Hoyle Sands than at the east. The Chester Bar was still

perfectly safe to cross, either to north or south of the central sandbank called the Earwick. The old channel marked by Greenville Collins, leading from the main traffic way within Chester Bar to Hoyle Lake had silted up, but a new route, slightly to the east of the old, was then being used. Apparently it was perfectly safe and easy to sail this way from the Wild Road into the Hoyle Lake, because the route had been buoyed and beaconed. The Hoyle Lake was "not so broad as formerly". At this time it was about two miles long, and half a mile wide. Whereas Greenville Collins gave low water depths of 6 and 7 fathoms within the Lake, Fearon and Eyes recorded depths of 3 to 5 fathoms. Also, the Lake had tended to move nearer to the shore. Fearon and Eyes marked channels - Westbury Swash and Hilbre Swash, traversing the Hoyle Sands. They ascribed the decreasing width, the silting, and the movement towards the shore of the Lake, to the strong ebb and flood tides passing through Hilbre Swash, and bringing silt into the anchorage instead of sweeping the Lake clear of silt as it had formerly done. In 1737, the Hoyle Lake was still a frequented anchorage, however, for vessels of all types proceeding up the Dee, or to Liverpool.

To sum up, the following points arise from a comparison of the two charts.

1. The river from Parkgate to Chester had become

more shallow, and much congested with sandbanks.

2. The sand banks on the Welsh shore between Flint and the point of Air had expanded rapidly. As a consequence, the former location of the Wild Road had completely silted up.

3. Parkgate and Dawpool were still available as anchorages (if less satisfactory.)

4. The Hoyle Bank had changed little at its western end but in the eastern half, it was traversed by swashes.

5. The Hoyle Lake was still a good anchorage, easily accessible from the Wild Road and the Horse Channel. (i.e. to the north-east) and used by ships bound for Liverpool or the Dee.

(iii)

The River Dee Company.

In 1741, the Undertakers became by Act of Parliament the Company of proprietors of the undertaking for recovering and preserving the navigation of the River Dee.(1) They had petitioned the House of Commons for a bill of incorporation, in December, 1740. In their petition, they said they had raised £47,130, of which £10,000 had been deposited

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(1) 14. Geo II c.8.

against damages, and the remainder, spent on the improvements. They claimed that the Dee was navigable, so that "ships and vessels of considerable burden have for some time, and do now come and go, to and from the Quay of the City of Chester, loaded with goods and merchandise." The House of Commons' Committee, which examined their petition, considered they should raise more money to complete the works, and make them more effective. By the Act, their authorised capital was raised to £52,000.(1)

The cost of the work proved much greater than had been expected and the revenue from the tonnage dues was very disappointing. By March, 1744 the Company had expended £56,461-15s-3d and received £566-9s-3d. from the tonnage dues.(2) To encourage trade the Company proposed to reduce the rates of tonnage. In this they had the support of the merchants and traders in the City, who petitioned in favour of a revision, because the rates were discouraging trade. In 1744, a new scale of tonnage rates was authorised as follows.(3)

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(1) Jour. H. of C. vol. XXIII p.565.

(2) Jour. H.,of C. vol. XXIV p.599.

(3) 17 Geo.II c.28.

1. 2d. per ton for ships to or from places between St. David's Head and Carlisle.
2. 3d. per ton for ships to or from places between St. David's Head and Lands End and Carlisle and the Shetlands; also to or from the Isle of Man.
3. 4d. per ton for ships to or from Ireland; or beyond Lands End or the Shetlands.
4. 8d. per ton for ships to or from Norway, Denmark, Holstein, Holland, Hamburg, Flanders, the west coast of France, Jersey and Guernsey.
5. 12d. per ton for ships to or from Newfoundland, Greenland, Russia, Baltic ports, Portugal, Atlantic ports of Spain, Canaries, Madeira, and the Azores.
6. 1s.6d. per ton for ships to and from the West Indies, Virginia and the American colonies, Mediterranean ports and Africa.
7. 2d. per ton for vessels carrying goods between Chester and the Dee outports and for boats in the cheese trade.

These rates were to be computed by a curious calculation of the tonnage. The length of the keel was multiplied by the breadth between planks on the midship beam. This product was multiplied by half the breadth (for the depth), and the whole divided by 94. The final figure was the number of

tons burden of the ship.

These new rates did not produce a satisfactory return. The following totals of receipts were obtained from the Register of Shipping kept by the Company, the dues being entered for each ship and accounted quarterly.(1)

TONNAGE DUES.

Period.	Tonnage Dues Received. £	s	d
1740 to 1744	194	1	7½
1745 to 1749	358	10	4
1750 to 1754	603	19	8
1755 to 1759	648	0	4
1760 to 1764	596	4	2
1764 to 1769	1059	0	8

The tonnage dues provided insufficient revenue to meet the heavy financial demands upon the Company. These proved so great at first, that many shareholders sold their shares at almost total loss. A first dividend of 2 per cent.per annum was paid in 1775. This was discontinued in 1781, and the next, of 1½ per cent., was paid annually from 1789. The interest was raised to 5½ per cent in 1814, declining to 4 per cent. in 1832. During ninety-nine years, the average dividend was 3½ per cent., but for fifty years, none was

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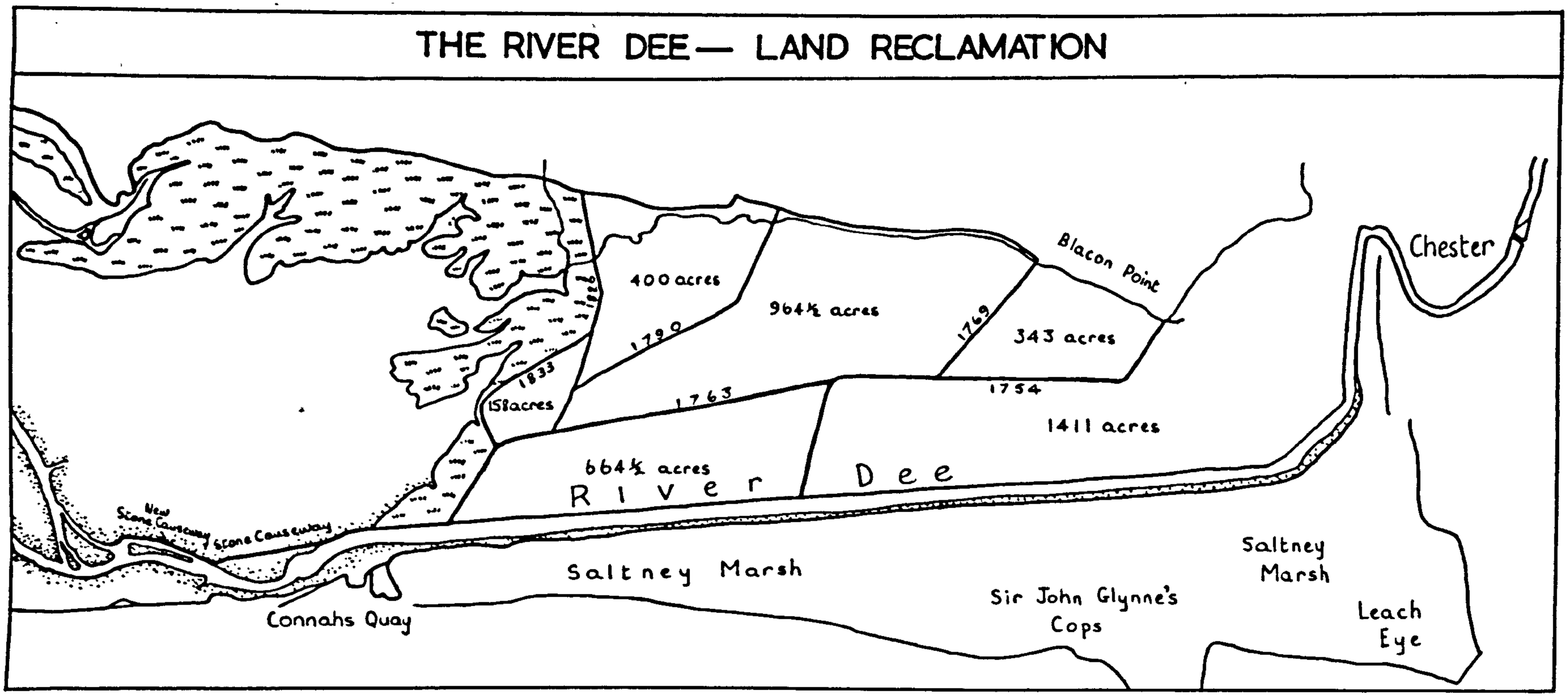
(1) Choshire County Archives, Registor of Shipping. 1740 - 1769.

THE RIVER DEE— LAND RECLAMATION



possible.[1]

Additional revenue accrued from the reclamation of the waste lands. The first protective embankment, extending from Sandycroft to a point on the Cheshire side, midway between the Saughalls, was destroyed by high tides in 1749. The first large enclosure took place during 1754, when 1411 acres were reclaimed. Between 1754 and 1833, 6767 acres of sand and marshlands were embanked and converted into farmland.[2]

Table of Enclosures.

Cheshire Shore	Year	Acreage.	Flintshire Shore	Acreage.
	1754	1411		
	1763	664	Leach Eye	382
	1769	348	Sir John Glynne's Cops	72
	1790	964	Saltney Marsh	1836
	1826	400	South Bank and	
	1833	158	Land to Connah's Quay	439
In Shotwick Parish		32		2729
Brewers'Hall Marsh		61		
		4038	Total 6767 acres.	

(1) J. Hemingway, op.cit. vol. 2. p.311 - 12.

(2) J. Hemingway, op. cit. vol.2. p.311.

The land reclamation involved the Company in expensive disputes. The High Sheriff of Flintshire had submitted a petition to the House of Commons, when the bill for reducing the tonnage dues was being considered. He demonstrated that the County boundary between Cheshire and Flintshire was unsatisfactory. The original Act authorising the work of Kinderley, had defined the future boundary as the course of the Dee then existing. Kinderley, and later the Company, had been expected to place adequate marks along the boundary, but this task had not been begun until September 1741, and then ineffectively. In addition, "the ancient and direct road" from Chester to Flint across the sands at low tide, had completely disappeared for about five miles. This would have been very expensive for the inhabitants of Flintshire to put right, and the Sheriff suggested that the remainder of the £10,000 deposit should be used to repair these damages. The act of 1744 laid down that two ferries must be established by the Company, convenient roads made to them, and a survey undertaken of the marshlands on the south side of the river.(1)

The main disputes of the next few years arose over these southern marshes. The Flintshire landowners, especially Sir John Glynne of Hawarden, disputed rights of commons with

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(1) Jour. H. of C. vol. XXIV p.644.

tho Company. In March 1752, tho Company prosontod a potition to tho House of Commons, for a bill to sottlo tho disputos.(1) Tho complaint of tho inhabitants of Flintshiro, Donbighshiro and Caornarvonshiro, on bohalf of thomsolvos and othors travelling through tho Countios, was that, although tho Company had boon ordorod to koop two forry boats for convoying passongors and carriagos ovor tho rivor, and to sot up roads ovor tho sands on tho North sido of tho Now Channol, thoro had boon no provision for roads on tho south sido botwoon tho forrios and tho town of Flint. Thoir potition for a now bill to authorizo now roads on tho south sido, statod that, "by roason of tho River boing brought through thoso marshos, and for want of tho south bank boing kopt up, tho Tidos have washod and worn sovoral of tho Guttors running through tho marshos, so doop as to rondor thom impossiblo for any carriagos, and dangorous for a horso."(2)

Moro accounts of tho difficulty of this routo woro givon by witnossos brought boforo tho Parliamontary Committoo inquiring into tho disputo. Tho causo had boon tho failuro to maintain tho southorn bank of tho rivor. Tho rosult, as ono witnoss statod, was that "Tho coachos and passongors going to Iroland, - - novor attompt it, oxcopt in summor,

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(1) Jour. H. of C. vol. XXVI p.640.

(2) Jour. H. of C. vol. XXVI p. 655, 704.

at which season only the Road (was) sometimes passable." The alternative road to Flint from Chester was by Hawarden, which increased the distance by 4 or 5 miles. To link the collieries at Hawarden with the New Channel, a timber road had been built at the cost of £1,000.(1)

The Secretary and Accountant of the Company, explained that the Company had disbursed £60,000 more than it had received. In February, 1753, it had entered into an agreement with Sir John Glynne by which the Company paid him £200 per year for waste lands north of the New Channel, and he made and maintained a new bank, with sluices, on the south side, on receipt of a lump sum payment of £600 and £50 annually. The Act of 1753 confirmed this agreement with Sir John.(2) The annual sum due to him was actually in excess of the yearly receipts from tonnage dues. Because of the high cost of constructing, a bank on the south side, with sluices to carry off the land drainage, Saltney Marsh was not drained until 1781, when it was "expeditiously performed". In September 1802, however, a high tide broke through, and the damage done cost over £2,000 to put right.

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(1) Jour. H. of C. vol. XXVI p.737, 748.

(2) 26. Geo. ll. c. 35.

(iv)

The Silting of the Anchorages.

The New Channel provided 15 feet of water at moderate spring tides. The City and the Company were to appoint two supervisors to sound the depths; a book of soundings was to be lodged with the Clerk of the Peace; and the Company was to erect two standard guages. The City Authorities made no effort to appoint a supervisor until 1799; and the Company was casual over the repair of the guages so that they became unreliable, and a source of contention after 1800.[1] Very great trouble arose over the changes in the channel below the exit from the New Channel, in the vicinity of Flint, and across the estuary to Dawpool. The channel itself was not free from trouble, especially at the sharp curves immediately below the City. No engineer was appointed by the Company to regularly examine the waterway until Telford was employed as a consultant from 1817. After his first survey, he recommended that groynes or jetties were built on the inner side of those curves, in order to reduce the width of the channel, and to increase the river

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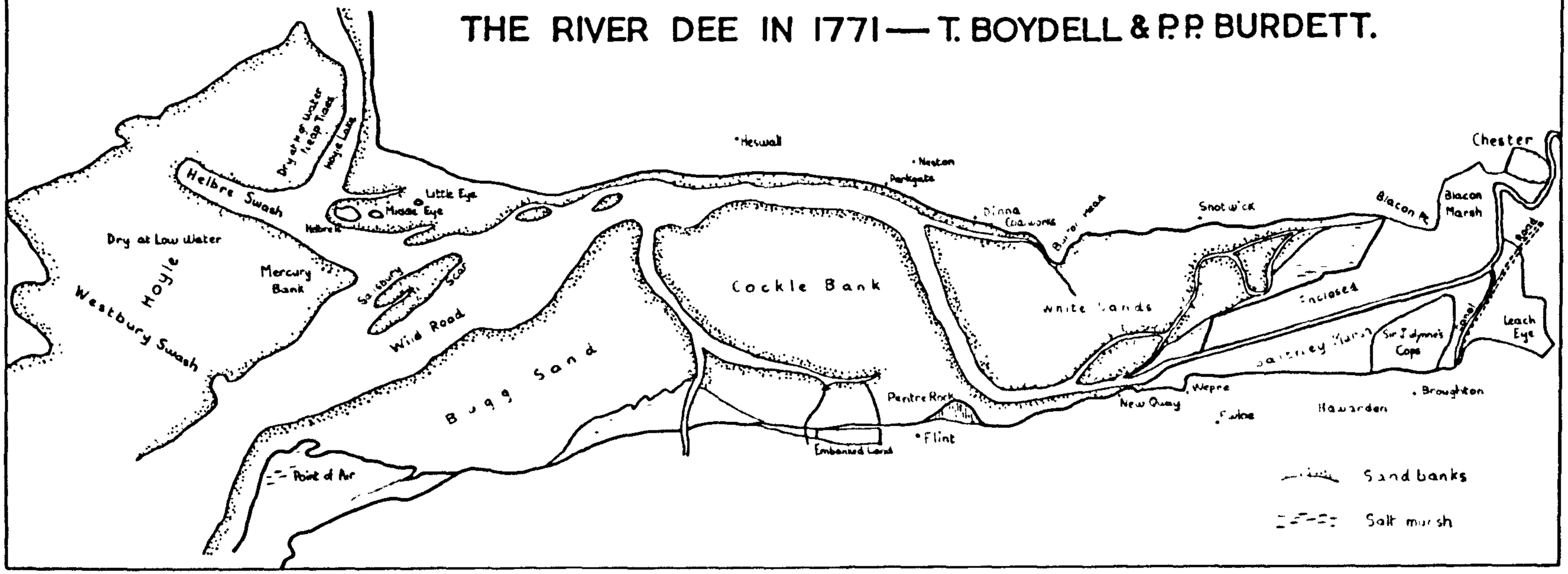
(1) City Archives C./MC. 161-177. Yearly Affidavits of William Vazey, the City's Supervisor of the River Dee 1800 to 1815. The City did not have a standing order until 1800 that the Supervisor of the River Dee should report to the Council at every meeting the depth of the river from the sea to Wilcox Point.

THE RIVER DEE IN 1771 — T. BOYDELL & P.P. BURDETT.



velocity. After his second survey of 1819, he recommended that the Stone Causeway was continued towards Flint. By 1826, the Stone Causeway had been extended by a "Now Stone Causeway", 1000 yards long, 30 feet high, and giving 22 foot of water at low water at its termination.(1)

At the close of the century the old channel of the Dee, passing Burton Head to Parkgate, was largely silted up and the higher parts enclosed. Charts published towards the end of the century showed how a vast area of sand, the Cockle Bank and the Bugg Sands, had developed on the Welsh side, between Flint and Mostyn. The main channel to the river crossed the Cockle Bank in numerous small channels between Flint and Parkgate. These channels were very difficult to navigate, and were only safe for small craft. Parkgate retained some deep water at low tide, but the anchorage was deteriorating continuously. Sailing instructions for Parkgate, on a chart published in 1794, advised that "vessels must lie aground on the beach below the Houses, to be safe; for though there is 2½ fathoms in the Channel off the Town, and 3 fathoms a little above the Town, yet the Stream of

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(1) The Report of the Admiralty Inspectors on the River Dee Conservancy Bill 1850.

Tide is so strong, and the Anchor-Ground so weak, that the Strength of the Stream would make a Vessel drag her Anchor."(1) A good deep anchorage remained at Dawpool, but this gave hard riding in westerly winds. Here, and at Parkgate, the large vessels transferred their cargoes into sloops, lighters or flats, to proceed to the City. Small colliers could ascend the gutters to Mostyn, Greenfield and Bagillt. The Wild Road continued to provide a good anchorage, and was easily reached from the west, over Chester Bar; but a bank of sand - Salisbury or Middle Bank - was growing up in the midst of it. The most striking change, was the movement inshore of the Hoyle Sands, so reducing the width of Hoyle Lake. Hilbre Swash had become a large cleft directly across the Sands. This was taking the main outflow of the eastern arm of the river, most of which had previously passed through the Hoyle Lake.

These changes had become more marked by 1834, when Commander H.M. Denham, R.N. made a very thorough survey for the Admiralty.(2) Hoyle Lake had then become "a mere dyke of 70 fathoms wide, having but 18 feet of water retained at

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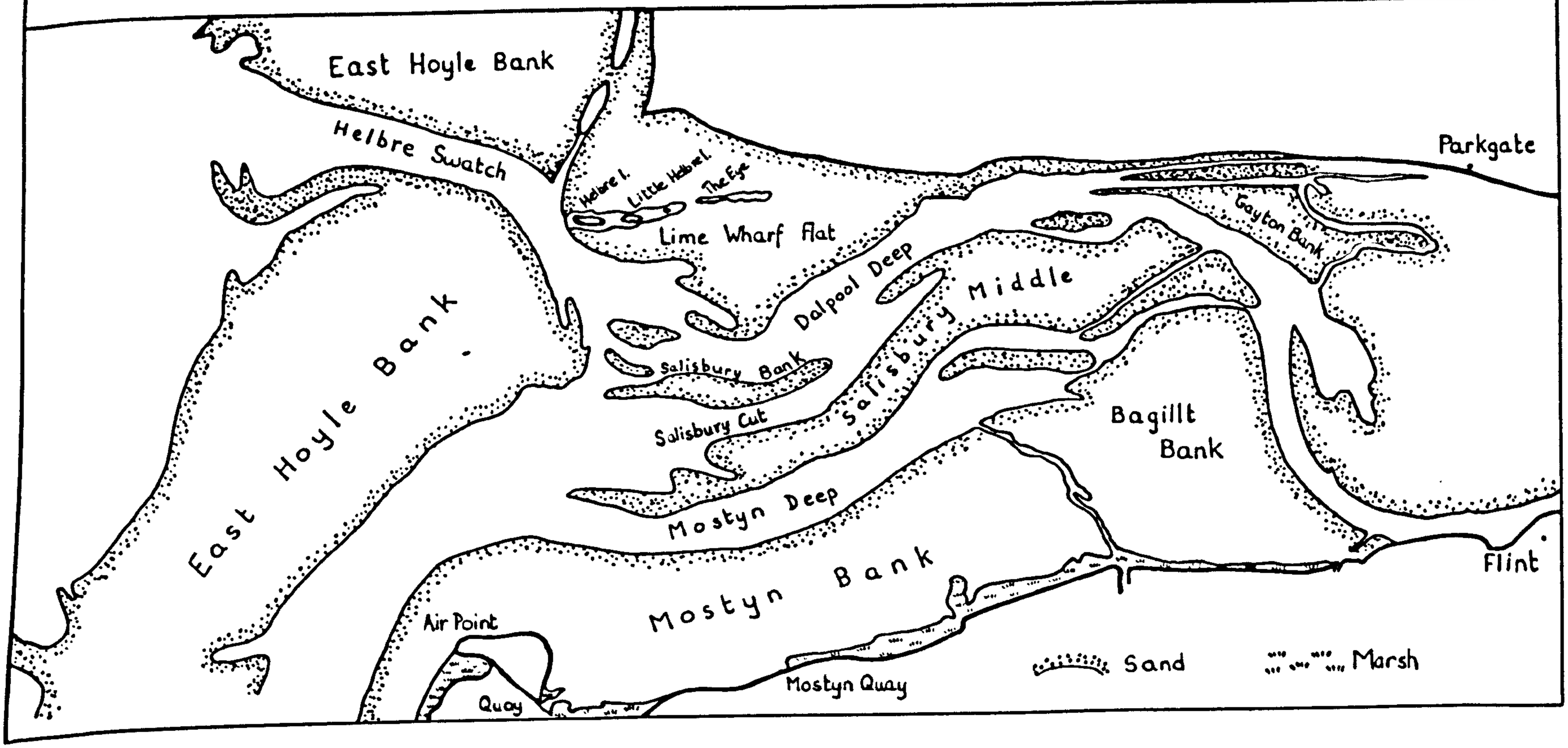
(1) Charts of the River Dee made in 1771 by P.P.Burdett and T. Boydell. Also A New Chart of the West Coast of England from the Point of Lynus in Anglesea to Formby Point in Lancashire. London 1794. (Admiralty, Hydrographic Dept. Library No.682.) and a Chart of the Irish Sea or St. George's Channel, by Stuart Amos Arnold. 1783 (Admiralty, Hydrographic Dept. Library D.58.)

(2) H.M.Denham, Sailing Directions from Point Lynas to Liverpool. London, 1840.

THE RIVER DEE H.M.DENHAM 1834-1839



low water in a small pool, a quarter of a mile long, at its centre." Denham was convinced that the breaching of the Hoyle Sands had caused the infilling of the Lake; the Liverpool ships were no longer using it as they had done. Before the end of the eighteenth century these ships had followed the Horse Channel on the seaward edge of the Hoyle Sands, and then proceeded to Liverpool, along the Rock Channel between Mock Beggar Wharf and Burbo Sands. The Formby Channel into Liverpool, was difficult until beaconed and buoyed by Denham in the eighteen thirties.

How bad the Doe Navigation had become, was clearly indicated in the minutes of evidence of the Tidal Harbours Commission in 1846.(1) Sea-captains spoke unitedly of the difficulties; one claimed no knowledge of any river so bad as the Chester River, and he would have refused freights, were he not in the cheese trade; another emphasised that it was unsafe at night; and a third was reminded that fifty years before, he "could then beat with cheese brigs up to Connah's Quay in a foul wind, at moderate spring tides"; but this was no longer possible. The engineer, Rennie, stated that the tide rose only 3 to 4 feet during neaps, as far as Chester, and there was only 4 feet in the Channel at

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(1) Tidal Harbours Commission. Second Report. London, 1846, pp. 292 - 318.

low water. As a consequence, the navigation was only practicable for vessels drawing less than 7 foot. With the exception of four or five vessels of 250 tons burden, belonging to the Cheese Company, who had a steam-boat to tow them up and down the river during spring tides, all the trade of Chester was transported in small craft of about 70 tons burden. So that in fact, he said, the City's maritime trade had dwindled away to comparatively little importance.

The rapid deterioration of the river had taken place after 1800, but in spite of the difficulties, Parkgate continued to be a terminal for the Dublin Packet. Ships of 100 tons were built and the Customs maintained officials and a store here. There were plenty of inns for the travellers to Ireland, but because of the growing expanse of sand, the town had become popular in the late years of the century, as a watering place. The Chester newspapers contained advertisements for accommodation, as for example, the one inserted by the landlord of the George Inn, in July 1777, that he was willing to accommodate ladies and gentlemen who wished to come for the bathing "with genteel apartments, and the best of entertainment, on terms equally reasonable with those of a private house."(1) Sometimes,

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(1) Adams's Courant Weekly.

a London newspaper referred to the more distinguished visitors, "Among the Sea Dippers at Parkgate, near Liverpool, were the Hon. Colonel Crewe, Sir Richard and Miss Hills, Colonel and Miss Jepson, Lieutenant-Colonel Colston, Major Henchman, Captain Chandless, Mr. Tronch, Mr. Benson, the Hon. Mrs. Foley, and the beautiful Miss Currie of Chester."(1) While Parkgate became a watering-place, Dawpool, retaining deeper water, was increasingly used by the large vessels, as an anchorage at which to discharge cargo into smaller craft.

(v)

Tho Responsibility for tho Decay of tho Waterway.

Tho River Doo Company was often accused of being more interested in land reclamation than in preserving tho navigation. Tho responsibility for tho neglect must also lie with tho City. An assertion of this view was made in tho report of tho Admiralty Inspectors on the Doo Conservancy Bill in 1850;

"We cannot -- fail to express our opinion that

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(1) Cheshire Sheaf. Old Series vol. 1. 1880 p.25.

considerable apathy and want of attention to the interests of the navigation have been displayed by the authorities of Chester for a long period of years, and that to the neglect of the powers conferred on them by the various Acts of Parliament, the present ruinous state of the Dee Navigation may in part be attributed."(1)

There undoubtedly had been neglect, but there had also been great vigour, and interest in the navigation by the City Corporation, especially between 1660 and 1740. Perhaps this later neglect arose from an awareness of the many other factors militating against the City's survival as a significant port. A pamphleteer in 1700 had asked, was it really necessary to improve the navigation? Large vessels could ascend the river occasionally, and small craft at all times of the year, and that was sufficient for the commerce which "the City now hath, or can ever be made capable of, by reason of the situation of it."(2)

The answer to this lay in the hinterland.

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(1) The Report of the Admiralty Inspectors. op.cit. 1850 p. 8.

(2) British Museum 1888. c 11. 1. op. cit.

CHAPTER 4.

THE HINTERLAND.

Chester was handicapped by the small size of her hinterland. As an additional misfortune, the hinterland consisted of two dissimilar areas, weakly linked by economic and human interests. In the east there was the Cheshire Plain; in the west, the northern part of the Welsh mountains. The City was undoubtedly centrally placed, but it was not a satisfactory focus for the trade of the two areas, because it was poorly served by land communications. Being unable to focus the regional trade upon itself, the City lacked the economic driving force, which could surmount the physical difficulties of the river navigation.

(i)

THE EXTENT OF THE HINTERLAND.

The extent of the hinterland cannot have remained constant throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the one hand, methods of transport were improved during the period, so that the hinterland was potentially capable of expansion. On the other hand, encroachments were made by the

expanding trade of Liverpool after the time of the Restoration. Even so, the hinterland was never large because this area of Cheshire, Flintshire and Denbighshire was poorly endowed by nature with a system of waterways, which were essential for the profitable carriage of bulky goods, during the whole of these two centuries.

The main reason for the meagre extent of the hinterland was the course of the River Dee. Above the City, the river valley only gave access to a small area of lowland, before turning westwards into the Vale of Llangollen and the Welsh Mountains. In this respect, the Dee was not so favourable to Chester, as the Mersey to Liverpool, or the Humber to Kingston-upon-Hull. Moreover, at Chester, there was the 13 foot Causeway across the river. Only waters of the highest spring tides, rose above the Causeway and flowed up the river as far as Overton. Small river craft, called flats, made use of this high water, to reach Farndon, Holt, Bangor and Overton Bridge. Beyond Overton Bridge, the river lay in a deep gorge and was impassable even for these small boats.

Very little information is available about this river traffic. Holland, in his survey of (Cheshire) agriculture, mentioned small barges, which sailed on the spring tides, as far as Bangor, but Brester, writing about the same time in his

Chester guides, had no reference to them.(I) This is surprising, because Broster usually listed details of similar local trade. Occasional references to this up river traffic, were made in the local newspapers. Adams's Courant Weekly of April 17th, 1766, for example, contained an advertisement for the sale of 120 tons of shipbuilding timber, which, it was stated, lay within one mile of the river at Erbistock, near Overton Bridge, and could be conveniently brought by water carriage to Chester. The North Wales Gazette of September 27th 1812, mentioned corn vessels sailing from Holt to Chester.

This river traffic above the City was conditioned by three factors. Firstly, goods had to be transhipped at Chester from sea-going vessels to river craft, because of the Causeway. Secondly, there were no important settlements near the river. The nearest towns were at least six miles away. These included Wrexham, then an important market town and road centre for the interior of North Wales, and Malpas, a much smaller town in Cheshire with a weekly market. The settlements, such as Farndon, Holt, and Bangor, which were actually by the river and commanded river crossings, were then little more than villages. Thirdly, this navigable section of the river lay to the east of the Denbighshire coalfield, which was relatively

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(I) H.Holland. General View of the Agriculture of Chester. London, 1808, p.75. Broster, op.cit.

inaccessible. As a consequence, this coalfield developed more slowly than the Flintshire coalfield, where the worked seams outcropped near the tidewater. Bad roads in fact, isolated the coal pits of Ruabon and Chirk, although they had been worked since the reign of Elizabeth I. In the latter half of the eightenth century, the Wilkinsons were impeded by transport difficulties when they were developing their iron works at Bersham, near Wrexham. Aikin wrote of waggons being used to carry goods between the Bersham works and Chester; but the 14 miles of land carriage were always expensive.(I) This was the main reason for the building of the branch of the Ellesmere Canal which, if it had been successfully completed, would have linked John Wilkinson's iron works at Brymbo, with Chester.(2) Cannon made at Bersham, were shipped to London either via the Severn, or from Chester. These alternative routes implied that Wrexham was situated near the southern limit of Chester's hinterland.

To the west, Flintshire was contained within the hinterland. The county's trade was very closely linked with the Dee estuary. The coal and lead mined in the county, were conveyed to the tidewater for export. West of the Clwydian

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(I) J. Aikin. op.cit. p.400.
(2) The Wrexham-Chester branch of this canal was a failure because of the difficulties of maintaining an adequate supply of water. See page 151.

Range, the produce of the Vale of Clwyd was transported to Rhuddlan, the head of navigation on the River Clwyd. S. Lewis, writing in 1833 described Rhuddlan as a small, well-equipped port, which had become the central depot for supplying the towns of the Vale. It exported grain and timber to Liverpool, and imported coal, groceries and shop goods. It also handled the lead ore from the mines of Talar-goch, near Dyserth, at the northern end of the Clwydian Range. Early in the nineteenth century, Rhuddlan had a regular steam packet to Liverpool.(I)

On the east, Chester's hinterland was bounded, in the first half of the seventeenth century, by the Pennines, but after the time of the Restoration, the eastern part of the hinterland came increasingly under the aegis of Liverpool. After the rock salt was discovered near Northwich in 1670, a steadily increasing volume of trade followed the River Weaver. Salt was carried down to the River Mersey, and thence to Liverpool. The river craft returned with coal from South Lancashire. This traffic was further stimulated by the improvements made to the navigation of the Weaver after 1721. The salt trade rapidly grew to large proportions, and became an

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(I) S. Lewis. Topographical Dictionary of Wales, London First ed; 1833. under Rhuddlan.

important element in the remarkable rise of Liverpool. On the other hand, the roads linking Chester and Northwich were poor. In fact, several early eighteenth century maps did not mark a through road.(I) As a consequence Chester took no part in the handling of the mid-Cheshire salt trade, so vital to the eighteenth century growth of Liverpool.

The southern part of the Weaver basin, however, was rather more satisfactorily connected with Chester. The well frequented road from London to Chester passed through Nantwich, and crossed the hills of Central Cheshire by the Beeston-Tarporley gap. As a result of these road facilities, the shoes manufactured in Nantwich and Sandbach were sent to Chester for sale. Much of the cheese from the surrounding dairy farms was sent to Chester for shipment to London, but some was also sent to Frodsham for shipment via Liverpool. It is also relevant to notice here, that when the salt houses at Nantwich began to use coal as fuel for heating the evaporating pans, this was brought from North Staffordshire and not from the Hawarden

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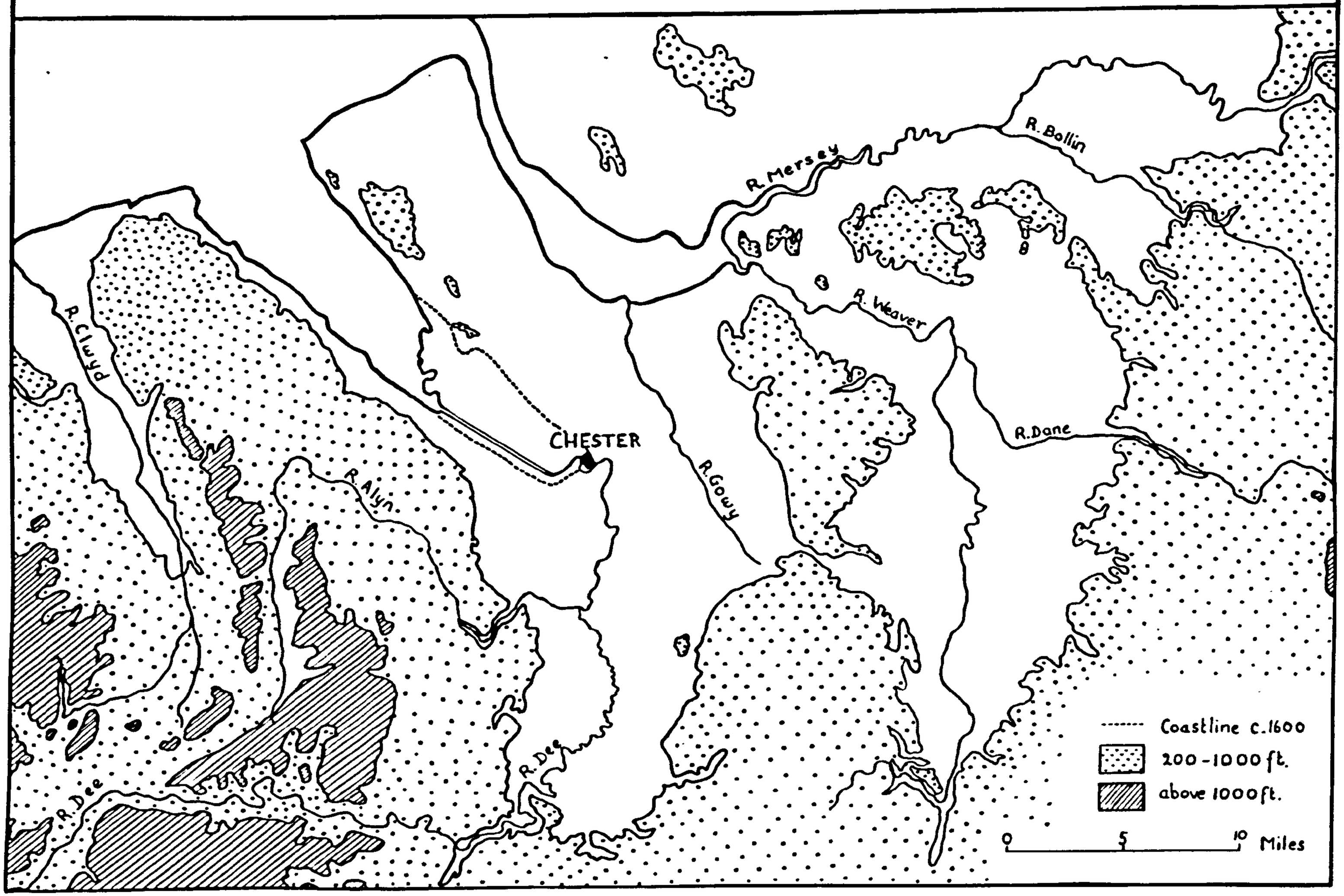
(I) Morden's map of Cheshire, in The New Description and State of England 1704, marked a road from Chester to Northwich and thence to Knutsford; Moll's county map in A New Description of England and Wales, 1724 does not mark this road. Kitchin's map of 1748 had a thin line from Northwich to Tarvin where it joined the main Chester-London road.

THE HINTERLAND – RELIEF



pits near Chester. So, like Wrexham, Nantwich seems to have been on the southern margin of Chester's hinterland.

Within those limits, the hinterland was small. Undoubtedly, goods were transported much further afield, as was indicated by the carrier services to London and Central Wales, but it was from this restricted area that the port derived the stimulus for trade. A large part of the hinterland came within the orbit of Liverpool. This diminution of the hinterland was as positive a factor in the decline of Chester's maritime trade as the silting of the River Dee.

(ii)

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HINTERLAND.

It is unnecessary in this context, to give a detailed description of the surface features and rock structure of the hinterland. The area previously defined, contained two contrasting physical environments; in the west, the northern part of the Welsh Mountains; in the east, the Cheshire Plain. Environment influenced the agricultural productivity; the rich dairy pastures of Cheshire, contrasting with the poor hill lands of much of Flintshire and Denbighshire. Also, there were the rich mineral deposits of the Welsh mineral tract and

the River Weaver Basin, which had a strong influence on the City's success and failure as a port.

The Cheshire Plain covers an area of Triassic sandstones, which occupies a deep faulted basin between the folded, older rocks of the Carboniferous age, which form the southern Pennines and the north eastern part of the Welsh Mountains. The Triassic rocks of eastern Cheshire contain beds of rock salt. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were brine springs in the valley of the River Weaver at Nantwich, Northwich and Middlewich.

The Carboniferous rocks of Flintshire and Denbighshire consist of limestone, millstone grit and coal measures, resting on much older Silurian slates. These Carboniferous rocks form the mineral tract of North Wales. The upper beds of the limestone, and the lower beds of the millstone grit, yielded lead, calamine, and silver ores during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The main mining districts for these were at Halkyn Mountain, Minera, Llanasa, and Talar-goch. The coal measures were also worked for coal at this time, especially along the Flintshire coast, where the surface outcrops were accessible.

The physical environment within the hinterland had an important influence on the trade of Chester. The Cheshire Plain was predominantly agricultural, except in the middle part of the valley of the River Weaver, where the salt was extracted.

As we have already noticed, the salt trade was largely directed towards the Mersey and Liverpool, partly because of the barrier formed by Delamere Forest. The Welsh part of the hinterland contained the mineral tract, which became exceedingly productive in the eighteenth century. This brought great activity to the southern shore of the Dee estuary, from which, unfortunately, Chester was separated by land, owing to the physical barrier of Saltney Marsh. The coal measures disappear beneath the Triassic sandstones underlying the sand and mud of the estuary, except at Neston, where, in a very small area, the coal measures outcrop. The seams here were worked during the second half of the eighteenth century. Separated from the mining region by Saltney Marsh, Chester was more firmly attached to the agricultural part of its hinterland. Cheese and other agricultural produce, exported from western Cheshire, passed through the City, but the coal, lead and calamine of Flintshire, could be shipped overseas without coming within miles of the Watergate, although the details of the shipments would be recorded eventually in the ledgers of the Customs officers in Watergate Street.

(iii)

AGRICULTURE IN CHESHIRE.

In the early seventeenth century, farming in Cheshire was an essentially subsistence type of mixed farming, with a limited specialisation towards dairying. The most detailed account was written by W. Smith, and published in 1656, in King's The Vale Royal of England.(I) Smith commented that Cheshire was rich in arable, pasture, meadow woodland, heath and moss. A large amount was enclosed, and of this, only about a third was arable under corn; the remainder being reserved for the cattle, producing the butter and cheese for which Cheshire was famous. Smith felt he need not say much in praise of these "seeing that it is well known that no other county in the realm may compare herewith, nor yet beyond the seas; no, not Holland, in goodness although in quantity they far exceed." The farmers bred their own cattle, sometimes selling the surplus young stock to graziers for eventual sale in the London market. Oxen, often with fine, long horns, a yard across at their tips, were used for farm work, or sometimes, to draw waggons of salt

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(I) W. Smith in Daniel King's The Vale Royal of England, London, 1656. pp.15-20.

to London. Enough sheep were kept to satisfy local demands for wool and meat. Smith noticed that the farmers produced sufficient poultry, pigs, and fruit for their own needs, with an occasional surplus for sale. Apparently the county was seldom seriously short of food, even in bad years, and generally there was a surplus of dairy produce for sale to the rest of the country.

During the second half of the seventeenth century, and throughout the eighteenth century, the most significant change was the increase in the production of cheese for sale off the farm. In other ways, few changes were made, and the general standard of farming in the county was below that of the rest of England. Technical improvements were not made until the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, except by a few enterprising farmers.

Many topographical writers of the seventeenth century, praised Cheshire for its cheese and corn, but it was left to the writers of the eighteenth century to give more details of the trade in Cheshire cheese.(I.) Daniel Defoe estimated that the county had an annual surplus of 30,000 tons.(2) Of this

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(I) These were carefully examined by G.E.Fussell, Agriculture and Economic Geography in the Eighteenth Century, Geographical Journal.vol.LXXIV. 1929 pp.170-78.
(2) D.Defoe. Tour vol.II p.72 and The Complete English Tradesman London 1726, vol.II, pt.ii.p.31. This large estimate is not substantiated by the entries of cheese to London in the Port Books.

total, 14,000 tons were sent to London either by road, or by sea. Some of the remainder was sent to Bristol, York, and even to Scotland and Ireland. He pointed out that all the cheese which was sold as Cheshire, did not actually come from the county, but was produced in the adjacent parts of Shropshire, Staffordshire, Lancashire and North Wales. Sometimes, the cheese from North Wales was of inferior quality. It was said by some, that goat's milk was used in Wales as well as cow's milk. In spite of the shortcomings which there inevitably must have been on occasions, Cheshire cheese had a good reputation on the London market, being considered only inferior to the very best Cheddar.

The principal cheese-making areas were the heavy clay areas of the upper parts of the Weaver Basin, especially between Nantwich and Over, (near Middlewich), the Plains of the Dee Valley south of Chester, and in Wirral. The dairy farms did not grow much corn. Tenants were usually restricted to less than a quarter under the plough at one time, because it was generally thought that ploughing was harmful to the best pastures. The county as a whole did not produce a great surplus of corn at this time.

One marked change towards the close of the eighteenth century, was an increase in the cultivation of potatoes on the lighter soils. At that time, potatoes were often the

principal food for the labouring people. The change was brought about by the rise in the retail price of corn and the growth of population in south Lancashire. Parts of Wirral, the Frodsham district, and Altrincham, began to specialise in potato cultivation for the Liverpool and Manchester markets. Occasionally, shipments of potatoes were made from Chester.(I)

The real wealth of Cheshire farming in the second half of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century, lay in cheese making. Cheese was the one commodity Cheshire farmers produced in sufficiently large quantities to supply to other parts of Britain, and consequently the cheese trade had a significant bearing on the port of Chester.

The main market for the cheese was London. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the trade became a monopoly in the hands of the cheesemongers, who controlled the shipments to the capital by any one of the three routes; the "long sea route" from the Dee or Mersey, around the south west coast of England; overland to the Trent at Burton, thence down the river to Gainsborough or Hull, and finally by coasting vessel; or directly by land carriage. In Chapter 8 we shall consider

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(I) T. Wedge, General View of the Agriculture of the County Palatine of Cheshire, London, 1794 and H. Holland. op. cit; gave full accounts of the principal cheese making areas and the changes in farming methods at that time.

the coastal shipments of cheese from Chester. Here, we will examine the methods used in bringing the cheese from the farms to the points of embarkation.

The cheesemongers employed factors, whose task was to ride round to the farms and bargain with the farmer or his wife, for the bulk purchase of the farmer's cheese for the season. Often the farmer agreed to sell all his cheese to one factor. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, and increasingly in the nineteenth, the tendency of selling to several factors developed. The system of bargaining often led to disputes, especially when the factor was dilatory in fulfilling his terms of the agreement. In March 1738, a petition was laid before the House of Commons concerning the "many and great inconveniences and losses" that arose from "the clandestine methods - - practised in the buying of cheese by cheese factors - - whereby the dairy farmers - - suffered very greatly". The evidence brought before the Committee appointed to consider the Petition, threw considerable light on those methods.(I)

The contracts were seldom made in writing, so that it was impossible for the farmer to prove his assertions. The factors might weigh the cheese, take it away, and pay for it when they pleased, although a time limit had been verbally agreed.

(I) Jour. H.of C. vol.XXIII. pp.69, 96, 108, 140, 164.

The witnesses alleged that the factors would delay weighing the cheese, knowing that the cheese lost weight as it matured. Sometimes the factor agreed to collect the farmers cheese by a definite date, and then delayed doing so. The farmer would be unable to sell to another factor, and if the price fell during the period of waiting, the factor might not want to take away as much as he originally agreed. Thus the farmer would be left with some of his cheese on his hands. In spite of these arguments put forward on behalf of the dairy farmers, a bill to restrain the cheesemongers was negatived. Even so, the friction remained. Fifty years later Wedge wrote:-

"The absurd custom of making contracts between the cheese-factor and the dairyman, we cannot pass unnoticed. The bargain most frequently is only verbal and seldom is anyone present, except the purchaser, the seller, (sometimes indeed his wife).

- This vague contract has been frequently broken by dishonest persons, and although the price is fixed, yet the delivery and payments are put off from time to time, to the manifest injury of the dairyman whose cheese is continually diminishing in weight, till it suits the convenience of the factor to come and weigh it."(I)

In spite of these difficulties the system worked, and many

(I) T. Wedge, op.cit., p.61.

chooso farmors rolied upon thoir salos to tho factors for tho paymont of thoir rent. This is exactly tho caso of Thomas Furbor, who farmod Collogo Fields noar Wooro, on tho Shropshiro-Choshiro bordor, in tho middlo docados of tho eighteonth contury. This was mainly a grass farm with somo wheat and oats but chooso was tho main product. Furbor sold to factors during tho autumn and winter, and doliverod to Frodsham, Chostor and Whoolock on tho nowly built portion of tho Trent and Morsoy Canal.(I)

Tho main dopots for tho choosomongors woro at Chostor and Frodsham Bridgo, tho lattor serving tho chooso ships which sailed from Liverpool. Tho chooso warohouso at Chostor was by tho Crano. Hero lots woro collocted boforo loading oithor on thoso cheoso ships, which had ascondod tho rivor to tho City, or on tho river lighters which plied botwoon tho City, Parkgato and Dawpool.

Towards tho closo of tho eightoonth contury, and moro ospocially in tho oponing docados of tho ninotoonth contury, tho cheoso farmors woro greatly affoctod by tho increasing markot for foodstuffs in tho oxpanding industrial contros of South Lancashiro and North Staffordshiro. Tho chooso of south-east Choshiro could bo convoyod moro easily and choaply by

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(I) W.B. Morcer. Two Conturios of Choshiro Chooso Farming. Journal of tho Royal Agric. Socioty of England. 1937.

canal or road to the towns of the Potteries. When the farmers started to supply these nearby markets, they began, not only to sell their cheeses after a shorter period of farm storage, but also to manufacture more of the early ripening cheese than the slow ripening varieties which had been required for the London market. Many farmers, especially in the northern part of the county turned to producing fresh milk, or vegetables and potatoes for Manchester and Liverpool. In this way, other tendencies were developing to diminish the cheese trade through Chester.

(iv)

AGRICULTURE IN NORTH WALES.

Two parts of Flintshire and Denbighshire had a high standard of farming. One was the lowland, which, south of Saltney Marsh, sloped down to the Dee. Like the land to the east of the river, it produced corn and cheese. The other was the Vale of Clwyd, which Defoe described as a "most pleasant, fruitful, populous and delicious vale, full of villages and towns, the fields shining with corn just ready for the reapers,

the meadows green and flowery, - - which made us think ourselves in England again, all on a suddon." (I)

Apart from those two areas and the very narrow coastal fringe bordering the Dee estuary, the standard of farming in the two counties was low throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This was partly due to the poor soils of the uplands, and their exposure to the cold and the strong winds, and partly to the prolonged isolation suffered by North Wales on account of the extremely bad roads - in fact "a Welsh journey" was something of a bye word. Language, too, was often a barrier to the interchange of ideas from parish to parish. For example, the English-speaking parish of Hawarden six miles from Chester, was largely without intercourse with the neighbouring Welsh-speaking parishes of Hope, Mold and Northop until the beginning of the eighteenth century.(2) Communications were considerably improved in the later part of the eighteenth century, and with the improvements, came the slow infiltration of improved farming methods. The slowness of the changes was plainly recorded by G. Kay and W. Davies, in their reports for the Board of Agriculture, published in 1794 and 1810

(I) D. Defoe, Tour, vol.2. p.65.
(2) N. Carlisle, A Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales, 1811 under Hawarden.

respectively.(I) The real changes from "the usual slovenly mode of farming formerly pursued in some districts of this country (Denbighshire) and other parts of North Wales" took place after 1800, except in the districts adjacent to Cheshire and Shropshire.(2)

Flintshire, at the close of the eighteenth century, was a county of small farms. The standard of farming of those small farmers was low. In the eastern part of the county, many of the farmers paid more attention to the conveyance of coals to Chester, than to their own farming, according to Kay.(3) This opinion was endorsed by Pennant for a wider area; "in all the mineral tract of Flintshire, there are numbers of small farms tenanted by carriers who entirely support themselves by the carriage of lead-ore, and calamine or coal. They are reckoned the most slovenly farmers we have. They apply themselves to this carriage to such a degree as to neglect their tenements." (4)

On the Flintshire arable lands, rye was the principal cereal until the second half of the eighteenth century, when

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(I) G.Kay, A General View of the Agriculture of North Wales, Edinburgh, 1794; Rev. W. Davies, A General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of North Wales, London 1810.
(2) W.Cathral, A History of North Wales, Manchester, 1828, vol.2, p.149.
(3) G.Kay, op.cit. (Flintshire) p.8.
(4) T.Pennant. Whiteford and Holywell, pp.167-8.

wheat and oats gained usage. Whitford and Holywell sometimes had a sufficient surplus of wheat for shipment to Liverpool, but their heavy clays were unsuitable for potatoes, and so, in times of scarcity, these were brought from the Vale of Conway, Lancashire or Cheshire.(I)

Among livestock on the Flintshire farms, the black cattle were the most important. Calves were brought from the neighbouring counties, either for fattening, or to supplement the dairy stock. At the age of three or four years, the cattle not wanted for dairy purposes were sold to drovers, for the English market. On the dairy farms, some of the milk was made into cheese of the Cheshire type. This cheese-making was not restricted to the lowlands of Flintshire, but it was general also in the lowlands of Denbighshire. Butter, made on the farms of the hill regions, was sent to Chester and Shrewsbury and by sea to Liverpool. W. Davies estimated that about 3 tons per week were sent in the summer months to Chester from the Upper Dee valley in the neighbourhood of Bala, presumably by the carriers, who operated weekly from Chester.(2) There were fewer sheep in Flintshire than in any other county of North Wales, but there were plenty of horses, which were generally small in size, and asses. The horses were used to carry

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(I) T. Pennant; op.cit. pp.160-1.
(2) Rev. W. Davies, op.cit. p.315.

coals to Chester in small wicker baskets, slung on either side, and never holding more than one hundredweight at a time.

To sum up, Welsh farming was generally of a low standard. There was a small surplus of dairy produce and live cattle, and, in the latter years of the eighteenth century, of corn from the lowland arable land.

(v)

COAL MINING.

Coal mining began in Flintshire in the Middle Ages. The early mines were located where the seams outcropped, or were lightly veneered with glacial drift. During the early years of the seventeenth century, the pits were of sufficient depth to be troubled by flooding. In this century there were pits at Mostyn, Bagillt, Flint, Northop, Hawarden, Leeswood and Mold. The Mostyn pits were principally worked to supply Dublin. They suffered from fire-damp, the clearing of which by firing was a dangerous process vividly described by Sir Roger Mostyn in a paper to the Royal Society in 1677.(I) The

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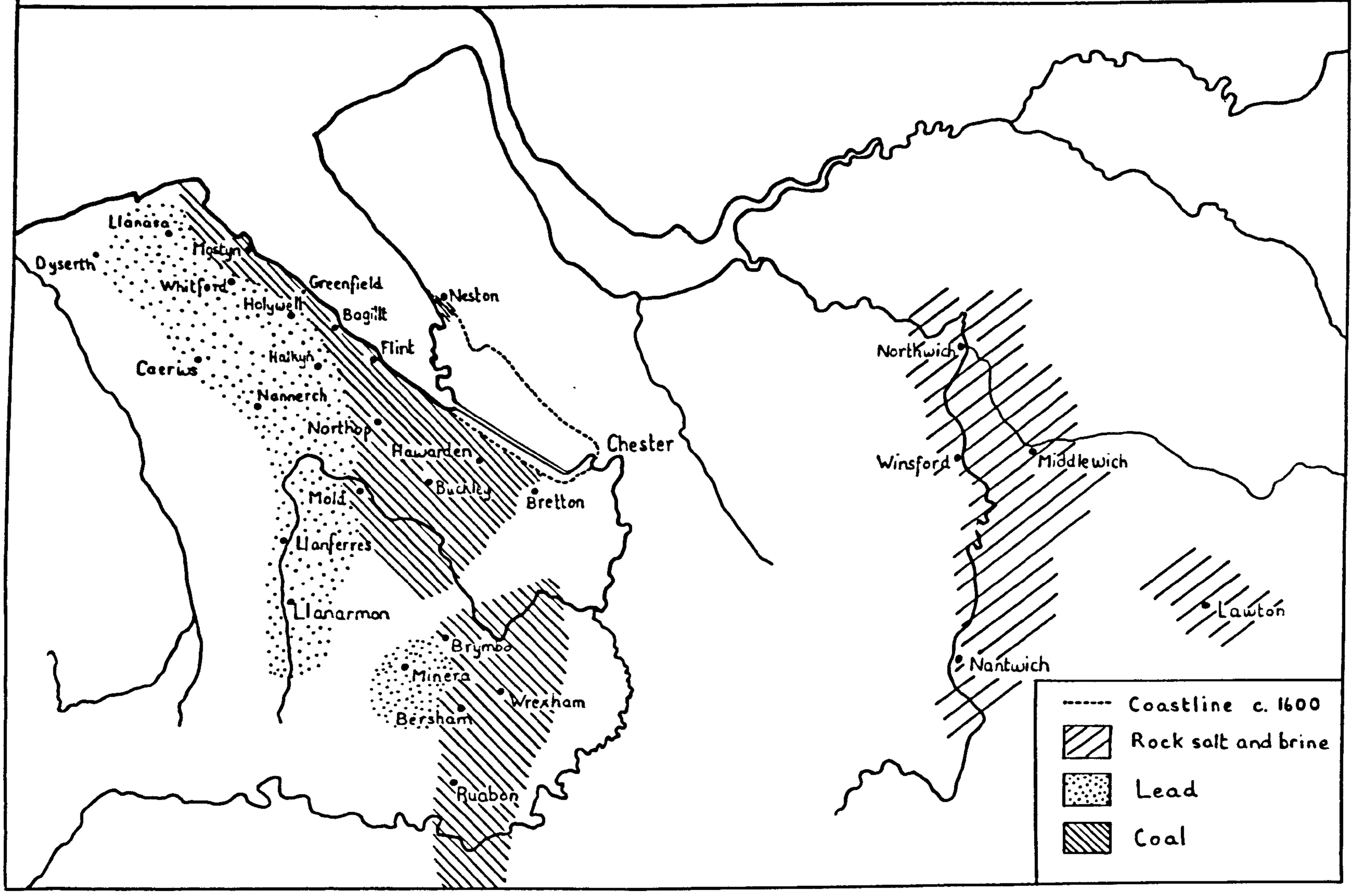
(I) R.Mostyn. Of damps in mines. 1677. The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Abridged vol.2 (1672-1683), 1809, p.398.

THE HINTERLAND — MINERALS



pits in the eastern part of the coalfield were mainly engaged in the supply of Chester. The advantages everywhere in the coalfield lay with those workings sited close to the tidewater.

During the eighteenth century, the pits in the central part of the field were increasingly engaged in supplying coal to the new industrial enterprises, particularly those metal trades associated with the development of the mineral tract. First among these was lead smelting. The Governor and Company for Smelting Down Lead with Pit-Coal and Sea-Coal, began work in Flintshire in 1692. They and their successors established furnaces at Whitford, Holywell, Bagillt, Flint, Mold and Hawarden, during the next hundred years. There was also the calcination of calamine, found in association with the lead ores, iron-smelting, copper and brass founding, and pottery-making.(I) In the eighteenth century a greater quantity of coal was consumed in these local industries, than was shipped to Dublin, or marketed in Chester, although these markets continued to be supplied.

The pits nearest to Chester were at Hawarden. The City had become sufficiently dependent on them to feel the pinch severely when the trade was interrupted during the Civil War.

(I) A.H. Dodd, The Industrial Revolution in North Wales; Cardiff, 1951. pp.20-23.

Although very dependent on them, the citizens hesitated to invest money in the mining. In this there was a lack of local enterprise and capital, as Willett, a schoolmaster of Hawarden in the early years of the nineteenth century, emphasised in his memoir of the parish. He gave one example of a Chester man who leased in 1737, the workings in part of Ewloe called Lloyd's Hills, for 31 years. Ten years later the lease was taken over by a Shropshire lawyer. Sir John Glynne was one Hawarden proprietor who did make great efforts to improve the transport of coals to the City. The traditional means had been by pack horse or waggons along the Dee sands at low tide; or by punts along the river. Before the turnpike road was constructed in 1757 "the intervening marsh was scarcely passable, save over a narrow pavement, and a bridge, supported by stoops over its principal gutter." In 1768, Sir John had a canal built parallel with this turnpike road, which at that time was very sandy and unsuitable for heavy waggons. The coal was taken from the pits to a coal yard at Bretton, whence it was forwarded along the canal in specially built punts. A special wooden railway was also built from Latchcroft colliery to bring the coal to Bretton. At the eastern end of the canal, the coal was transferred to river craft. In 1775, the canal was abandoned, because too much loading and unloading was involved. Twenty-five years later, iron railways were

built in Hawarden, to carry coals to the Dee for export. In Hawarden, the coal was also used for industrial purposes. In the second half of the eighteenth century there was within the parish, an iron foundry, a lead smelter, and a potteries making rough earthenware.(I)

To sum up, throughout the two centuries Flintshire enjoyed two advantages; firstly, coal seams which outcropped, and secondly, proximity of the outcrops to the tidewater. The eighteenth century expansion of the coal mining was related to the growth of industries. It was a pity that Chester was relatively remote from the pits. Saltney Marsh was a trouble-some obstacle. Perhaps this separation of the City from the pits was one factor in the tardy financial interest of the citizens in coal-mining. The existence of the Marsh, and the general situation of the coalfield on the south side of the estuary, did mean that coal could be regularly shipped from the estuary without passing near, or in any way affecting the City.

The small outcrop of coal at Neston was worked in the second half of the eighteenth century. Precisely when working commenced is uncertain. Some of the coal was exported to Dublin.

The Denbighshire coalfield did not develop so rapidly,

(I) R. Willett, op.cit, pp.95-105.

although mining had begun at Chirk and Ruabon in Tudor times. The coalfield is geologically a southern extension of the Flintshire field, although separated from it by the Bala fault. Development was retarded by the very bad roads, which virtually isolated the pits from the Dee estuary. As already noticed, bad roads retarded work at Bersham, and were a stimulus to the building of the western branch of the Ellesmere Canal. Also, the course of the Dee lay to the east of the outcrops of productive coal measures at Wrexham and Ruabon.

(vi)

LEAD.

In the seventeenth century, the lead mines of North Wales were much less productive than the silver - lead mines of Cardiganshire, where active mining had begun in 1563, when Queen Elizabeth I granted a patent to Thomas Thurland and Daniel Hochstetter of "all the mines royal of gold, silver copper and quicksilver." These rights later passed to the Society of Mines Royal. Great profits were made from the mines when they were taken over by Hugh Middleton and his successor, Thomas Bushel. In 1637 Charles I granted Bushel the right to mint silver coins in Aberystwyth and gave him Lundy Island as

a depot for the produce of the mines. Later, Bushel was able to support the Royalist cause to the extent of a £40,000 loan, and the outfitting of an army. After the Civil Wars, Bushel directed his attention to the mines of the Mendips. From that time the decline in output of the Cardigan mines began, although a very rich vein was discovered in 1690. The decline was hastened by the quarrelling and litigations among the proprietors, which "eventually ruined mining interest in the district." Conditions were ripe for fresh attention to be directed to North Wales.(I)

In Flintshire and Denbighshire the lead ores occurred in lodes in the highest parts of the Carboniferous limestone and the lower parts of the overlying millstone grit. The lodes were arranged in two sets lying at right angles; Those running from east to west were known as veins; those from north to south were called cross-courses. The veins contained galena, which had a proportion of silver, and blende or blackjack containing zinc. The cross-courses had no blende, and were much less rich in silver. Sometimes the galena formed large masses, or 'flats', which occupied cavities in the limestone, or lay as loose lumps in glacial drifts, near outcrops of veins or flats. Such surface deposits were called gravel-ore.

(I) Cardiganshire lead mining described in S.Lewis, Topographical Dictionary under Cardiganshire.

The main ore-bearing districts were situated between Dyserth and Holywell, between Holywell and Llanarmon, including the rich deposits of Halkin Mountain, and at Minera, near Wrexham. Gravel-ore was worked at Talar-goch near Dyserth.

Leases of lead mines in North Wales were granted by the early Stuarts. For example, James I granted such a lease to Richard Gwynne; and Charles I granted mining rights in the Hundreds of Coleshill, and Rhuddlan to Sir Richard Grosvenor. Sir Roger Mostyn was using a large furnace, with a water wheel to work the bellows, to smelt the ores from several mines in the reign of Charles II. At the same time, the mines at Minera were producing ores, which were smelted in Wrexham. Total output was not large, however, until the last decade of the century, when the Governor and Company for Smelting Down Lead with Pit-Coal and Sea-Coal, began operations. The Quaker members of the company were very active. They built a furnace at Gadlys in 1702. This had easy access to the mines of Halkin Mountain; there were many coal pits nearby, and the site was handy for loading the pig lead upon river craft. The Quakers had great energy. They had the good fortune to possess a vigorous agent, Edward Wright, and they had technical skill in advance of their contemporaries. They used the cupellation process of smelting, which enabled them to extract economically,

the silver from the litharge and the lead. The loss of lead and silver was comparatively small in this process when the furnace was well designed, and operated skilfully. The Quakers excelled all their rivals in the design of furnaces and the details of the process. The removal of the silver from the lead was not only profitable - over 400,000 ounces of silver were said to have been recovered in Flintshire, from lead ores between 1704 and 1744 - but also made the lead better suited for industrial purposes, because a small quantity of silver in the lead makes it brittle. Incidentally, Flintshire lead was generally considered to be harder than Derbyshire lead, which in the early eighteenth century was smelted with wood and was as a consequence, softer than that smelted with coal. In 1705, the Quakers of North Wales amalgamated with the Quaker Ryton Company, which was operating in the northern Penninos, to form the Quaker Lead Company, or London Lead Company, as it was also called. The Quakers were active in Flintshire until the last decade of the century. In 1786 the Gadlys works were pulled down, and the company used other works at Bagillt. In 1792 they withdrew from Flintshire, and concentrated their activities upon the mines of the Penninos.(I)

(I) A. Raistrick, Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare, - the London Quaker Lead Company, 1692-1905. London, 1938.

There were many other proprietors engaged in lead mining and smelting. In 1703 Sir George Wynne inherited an estate on Halkyn Mountain yielding about £30 per year. Twenty years later it was producing lead to the value of £22,000 per year. The families of the Grosvenors, the Pennants, the Mostyns and the Hanmers all had a profitable share in the boom in lead mining. Bagillt was the most important centre for smelting, but there were many furnaces sited along the very narrow low-land flanking the Dee, and the uplands, at Whitford, Coleshill, Nant-y-moch, Holywell, Llannerch-y-Mor, Flint and Hawarden. The smelting brought wealth to the landowners, but the fumes from the works disfigured the landscape, upset the cattle which grazed nearby, and invalided the workers, who were liable to develop the mill-distemper, a violent vomiting disorder.

Mining was not restricted to the coastal districts, but was also developed during the century at Llanferres, Llanarmon, and Minera.(I) The smelting works were however, largely con-

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(I) The lands at Minera belonging to the Owen Jones' charitable trust in Chester, were found in 1709 to possess lead deposits. Those proved very profitable. In 1761 the City Corporation leased lands at Minera to a silversmith, who raised more than 10,000 tons of ore in 20 years. The ore was smelted at Hawarden, where Willot described a "conicalformed" smelting house being in use between 1751 and 1810.

the refined products could be shipped almost from the very spot after only a short carriage to the vessels. The Flintshire industry became very dependent on the export trade. This was severely hit by the Orders in Council, which restricted trade during the Napoleonic Wars. The large home demand for lead was no adequate compensation. The early years of the nineteenth century witnessed many bankruptcies in the Flintshire lead industry, but the coming of peace brought a considerable revival. There was sufficient ore to be mined. The Holywell Level, disastrously unproductive for the first twenty years after it was first begun in 1776, struck rich veins and yielded good returns to its investors. This revival was not permanent. The large imports of Spanish ore had disastrous effects in Flintshire in the 1820's.(I)

Calamine was plentiful in eastern Flintshire, where, like the lead ores, it occurred in veins in the limestone, but it was generally more abundant where the lead was less plentiful. Until this zinc ore was discovered here in the 1730's, by John Barrow, a native of Somerset, the hard calamine rock was often locally used to repair roads. During the last sixty years of the century, quantities of calamine were shipped to Bristol, Liverpool and Swansea. Some was also used in

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(I) A.H. Dodd, op.cit. pp.169-175.

Flintshire for the manufacture of brass.(I)

(vii)

SALT.

Rock salt was accidentally discovered in 1670, when boring for coal at Marbury near Northwich. Until that discovery, all the salt manufactured in Cheshire was made from the brine which issued from springs or brine pits in various parts of the Koupor Marl districts of central and west Cheshire. The main springs were in the valley of the River Weaver near Nantwich and Northwich, but there were smaller ones higher up the Weaver valley, and the adjacent valleys of the River Dane and the River Wheelock, especially at Middlewich. These three towns, Nantwich, Middlewich and Northwich, the "wiches" as they were called, had been evaporating brine to make salt since the early part of the Middle Ages. Nantwich was the most important of the three, and remained so until the middle of the seventeenth century. It had the reputation for making the whitest and purest salt. The brine pits at Nantwich and Middlewich were described in detail by Camden.(2)

(I) T.Pennant. Tours, vol.1. p.88; vol.2, p.71; also Whitefordand Holywell pp.125-127.
(2) W.Camden. op.cit. vol 1. pp.485-486.

In tho first half of tho seventeenth century, Cheshire salt making suffered from tho disadvantage of costing more than salt made from tho evaporation of sea water. This was due to the high cost of land transport for bulky commodities. Sir William Brereton, a Cheshire man, declared in 1635 that tho most important and productive salt works in England, were at Shields on tho north-east coast.(I) A further disadvantage at that time was the contemporary view that English salt was inferior to Bay salt, produced on the west coast of France.

As a consequence, Cheshire salt was of scarcely more than local importance during the first half of the seventeenth century. A small quantity was carried to Chester for shipment, perhaps mainly from Nantwich, which had the advantage of being located on the London to Chester road. There were also pans for evaporating sea-water, along the shores of the Dee ostuary, at Shotwick, Hilbre, Flint and Mostyn. They later used rock salt which had been shipped coastwise to supplement the sea water.

The discovery of the rock salt introduced a series of big changes in the mid-Cheshire industry. Among these were the decline of Nantwich and the expansion of Northwich. The

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(I) P.Pilbin, A Geographical Analysis of the Sea-Salt Industry of North-East England; Scot. Geog. Mag. LI, 1935.

rock salt found at Northwich was the Top Bed, which lay within 100 feet of the surface, and was overlain by marl and glacial drift. It was sufficiently near the surface to be worked in bell-shaped mines operating outwards from a central shaft. These soon collapsed through excessive working or solution of the salt. The mines also gave access to the brine stream which flowed along the upper surface of the Top Bed. This brine could be used to supplement the brine from the surface springs.(I)

The second important change was the gradual shift from the use of wood for fuel to the use of coal. This was accompanied by a change from lead to iron pans. Nantwich had been supplied with coal from North Staffordshire as early as 1669. Soon afterwards, the salt manufacturers of Northwich were becoming anxious to improve the River Weaver, so that coal could be brought cheaply from south Lancashire. Work was not begun on this river until 1721. The improvements inevitably favoured Northwich and Winsford, which was now at the head of navigation on the river. Nantwich was at a considerable disadvantage. The rock salt and refined white salt of Northwich, Winsford and Middlewich were carried down the River

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(I) R.L. Sherlock. Rock Salt and Brine. Special Reports on the Mineral Resources of Great Britain. No. 18 Geological Survey, London 1921.

Weaver to the River Mersey, in shallow draught boats, called flats. These were from 30 to 40 tons burden and less than 4 feet in draught. They returned with coal and goods imported through Liverpool.(I)

In this way, the new use of rock salt and coal, and the improved navigation of the River Weaver, favoured the northern part of the salt area, and linked its trade to the River Mersey and Liverpool. The volume of this traffic grew very rapidly in the second half of the eighteenth century. Chester never shared in the salt trade of the northern part of the Weaver valley. In part this resulted from the barrier of Delamere Forest. The roads between Chester and Northwich were not improved until after the River Weaver had been improved, and the salt region too closely linked to the Mersey, for improved road transport to help Chester obtain a small share in the trade. Nantwich could send salt to Chester by road, but this Nantwich salt had to compete in Chester with salt shipped cheaply from the Mersey.

(I) A.F. Calvert. Salt in Cheshire, London and New York, 1915.

(viii)

INDUSTRIES OF THE HINTERLAND.

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the hinterland was predominantly agricultural. Crafts, including linen weaving and woollen spinning and weaving, were numerous and varied. Some towns had particular crafts, which achieved a more than local reputation, as for example, the tanning of leather at Wrexham, the manufacture of gloves and shoes at Nantwich, and the making of salt in the Wiches. In the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a rapid expansion of industry in some areas. These included Flintshire with metal industries and textiles, central Cheshire with salt refining, and eastern Cheshire with cotton and silk manufactures.

The leather trades were widespread in Cheshire and North Wales, because of the plentiful supply of hides, oak bark and water. In Cheshire, tanning was particularly important in the central and northern parts of the county. Nantwich, Congleton and Sandbach made shoes and gloves, Nantwich selling its wares in London, and exporting through Chester. In Wales, tanning was especially important at Wrexham and Denbigh, which likewise made shoes and gloves. Denbigh sent more than 7,000 pairs of gloves to Bristol and London each year.

Among textiles, linen weaving was general in Cheshire in the early part of the seventeenth century, especially in the north eastern part of the county. Linen yarn was imported from Ireland through Chester, the City complaining that higher import duties were imposed in the port by the customs' officers than in Liverpool, to the latter's advantage. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the manufacture of silk was established in Macclesfield and Congleton, which became very prosperous. The importation of raw silk was not handled by Chester which was ill-placed for convenient trade with the silk towns. It was more satisfactory to import through Liverpool, which also handled the raw cotton for the newly-established cotton mills of northeast Cheshire.

Chester never became a marketing centre for Welsh flannel or "cottons", a coarse woollen cloth which was widely produced in North Wales. Production was less in Flintshire where sheep were fewer than in neighbouring counties. There were plenty of weavers in Denbighshire and the Vale of Clwyd, making flannels, friezes and "webs" (a sort of thick flannel chiefly used to make soldiers' clothing). The main market for Welsh woollens was at Shrewsbury, whose drapers had managed to acquire in 1565, a monopoly of all Welsh cloth being bought and sold. This monopoly was maintained for nearly 200 years, but unofficially during that time, Wrexham and Oswestry managed

to acquire some trade. Broadcloth was made in Denbigh between 1750 and 1775, and woollens in Anglesey. From here surplus wool was sent to the fairs in Chester, for sale to Yorkshire clothiers. These wool shipments were not entered in the port books, so they may have come by land carriage. In the 1770's cotton mills were built at Holywell, using power developed from the stream plunging down to the Dee.

The most spectacular industrial development in the hinterland, in the eighteenth century, was the growth of metallurgical industries on the Flintshire coast. We have already discussed the growth of the lead industry and its association with the Quakers. This industry had great advantages of an admirable, compact situation;

"The local ores came in farm waggons or horse-panniers, until the building of mineral railways sent horses back to farm-work; those from a distance were landed at the Dee ports, and sold in the Flint and Holywell markets, or else taken direct to the smelteries. Most of these were within easy reach for small vessels unloading the raw material or carrying off the finished product - pig lead or sheets, bars and pipes. At the same works, silver and zinc were separated and worked up for the industries that used them, and by-products like white and red lead, litharge and sulphur, laid the foundations for what was to become a flourishing chemical

industry."(I)

At Greenfield, Holywell and Flint brass was manufactured using locally produced zinc and copper. Pennant described the clusters of chimneys at the brass-milling sheds discharging volumes of thick black smoke.(2) In the last twenty years of the eighteenth century, those copper works at Holywell which had been established by the Parys Mountain Company, were extremely prosperous. Copper-ore had been discovered at Parys Mountain in Anglesey in 1775. The ore was in the main, smelted at Ravenhead in Lancashire, at Stanley near Liverpool, and at Swansea. At Holywell the water power was utilised for forging and pressing the copper. The works manufactured copper plates, bolts, and sheathings of the sort then used on the hulls of ships. Some of the bolts required for East India merchantmen, had to be more than 20 foot long. During this period, the company used from 30 to 40 ships of 30 to 50 tons each, to carry materials between the Dee Estuary, Liverpool and Amlwch.

The iron industry was on a very small scale in Cheshire and North Wales in the seventeenth century. There were forges at Abenbury which supplied material to the smiths and nailers of Wrexham, and at Chirk. In 1717, the Quaker iron master,

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(I) A.H. Dodd, op.cit. p.183.
(2) T. Pennant, Whitefordd and Holywell, p.206.

Charles Lloyd, had a furnace at Borsham near Wroxham, and experimented with the use of coal instead of charcoal. He failed to make the furnace pay, and gave it up in 1726. It passed through the hands of several Quakers until it was taken over by Isaac Wilkinson in 1753. The Borsham furnace became famous under his son, John Wilkinson. Here the Wilkinsons produced great quantities of cannon during the Seven Years' War and many of those were shipped from Chester. Later, John Wilkinson moved to Brymbo, also near Wrexham, setting up furnaces there. He was a vigorous pioneer in establishing the iron industry in North Wales, and an instigator of the plan to link Chester with the Denbighshire coalfield by canal. During the second half of the eighteenth century, there were also iron works at Ruabon and Hawarden, the latter producing many sorts of stoves, ovens, boilers, furnaces, and cast iron work for cranes, machines, locks, forges, smelting works and collieries.(I) The iron industry was largely dependent on local ores, but high quality ores were shipped from Cumberland through the port of Chester.

A small industry which produced goods for export from Chester was the manufacture of pottery and earthenware at Hawarden, using the excellent fire clays found in the local coal measures. In 1757 Jonathan Catherall began the manufacture

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(I) A.H. Dodd, op.cit. p.143.

of firebricks on Buckley Mountain, between Hawarden and Mold. Later his potteries produced a wide range of household items as well as firebricks.

COMMUNICATIONS.

We have already discussed the inadequacy of the River Dee above Chester as a navigable highway, and commented on the break in navigation imposed on the City by the Causeway for the Mills, and the disadvantageous situation of the river to the east of the Denbighshire coalfield. The City was poorly served by its river in an age when water transport was essential for the cheap, inland conveyance of bulky goods. To improve the City's grip on its hinterland, there were proposals late in the eighteenth century to build two canals; one from the City to Middlewich, with connections to Nantwich, and another to the Denbighshire coalfield.

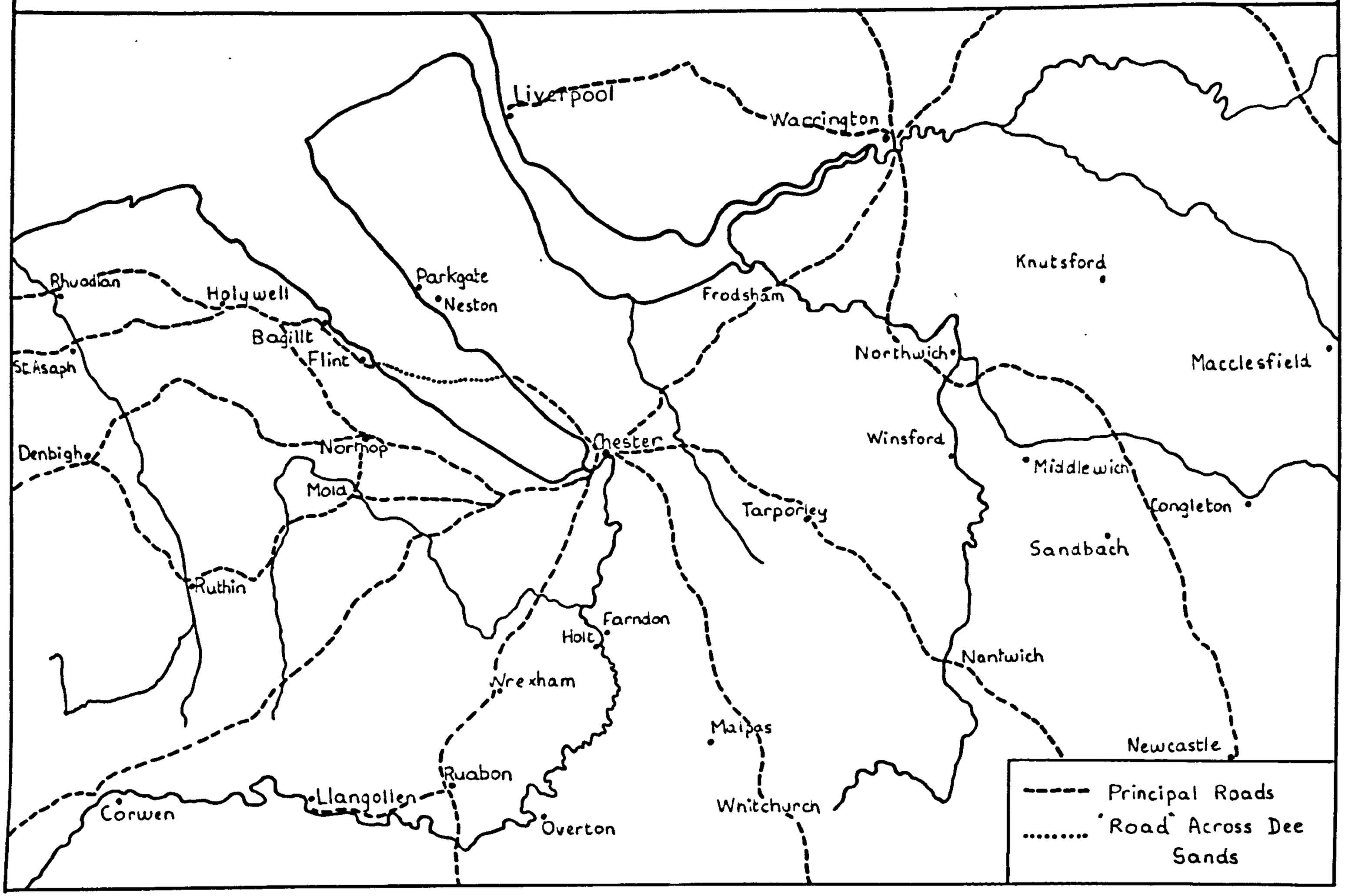
The Middlewich Canal aimed to link the City with the Trent - Mersey Canal, and the salt region of central Cheshire. Its advocates in 1770 argued that the City would be able to distribute over a wide area, imported linen, wine, spirits, tobacco, groceries, flax, hemp, wool, hides, skins, tallow, timber, potters clay, iron, lead, lime, paving stones and corn;

and export rock-salt from central Cheshire, cottons from Manchester, hardware from the Black Country, and hops and cider from Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire.(I) This optimism was sadly disappointed. The work cost £80,000, and funds ran out before the branch had been made to Middlewich and the Trent - Mersey Canal. The canal, as completed in 1779 to Nantwich, was unable to divert some of the salt trade to the City. The scheme "proved more totally abortive than any other in the Kingdom." Traffic receipts were insufficient to keep the canal in repair in 1795, and some shareholders sold their stock at one per cent of the original cost.(2)

The Ellesmere Canal Company, with an authorised capital of £400,000, was formed in 1793 to build a series of canals, of which one would run from Chester to Wrexham, with a branch to Brymbo, and thence to Bersham, Ruabon, Chirk and Shrewsbury. The section between Chester and Ruabon was begun in 1796. Unfortunately it was found impossible to supply enough water, and that part of the project had to be abandoned. This was regrettable because the canals would have given the City direct water communication with the main ironworks and the collieries.

(I) Remarks relating to a canal intended to be made from the City of Chester to join the Navigation from the Trent to the Mersey at or near Middlewich, Chester, 1770.
(2) J. Aikin, op.cit., pp.127-128.

THE HINTERLAND— ROADS c. 1725



Although poorly served by waterways, Chester was an important road centre. Of the national roadways, the one to London was the busiest. It was always a fast route and suitable for coaches and waggons. The route to Holyhead was regularly used by travellers hurrying to Ireland, but it always had sections which were very difficult, until improved in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Similarly, the roads to York via Warrington and Manchester, to Bristol and Cardiff, and to Lancaster and Carlisle, generally gave hard going until the late eighteenth century improvements. These national routeways were most advantageous when it was necessary to assemble troops in Chester, for campaigns in Ireland between 1583 and 1690.

Roads, however, were inadequate to Neston and Parkgate, to the Flintshire side of the Dee estuary, and to Northwich. Until the Parkgate road was improved in 1787, the usual routes to the Wirral outports were either along the sands at low tide, or along the coast, past Shotwick and Burton, on very imperfect tracks. The route by the sands was used for carriages, which sometimes came to grief in patches of quicksand. The Flintshire side of the Dee estuary, was however, more satisfactorily reached by the sands than by the land route across Saltney Marsh, or to the south of it. The sands route became more difficult after the cutting of the New

Channel. It was eventually abandoned when the Flintshire roads were turnpiked and improved in the 'sixties and 'seventies.

These weaknesses of communications within the hinterland, by water and by road, seriously handicapped the City's function as a port.

CHAPTER 5.

Chester and the Organisation of the Customs System: 1600 to 1800.

By granting the Port of Chester in the sixteenth century, the status of the principal head port of the north-west coast of England and Wales, the Customs had recognised the pre-eminence of Chester among the ports of the north-west. The word "port" had a special meaning for customs purposes, indicating not only a haven for shipping, but also a defined section of coastline, administered by one port called a "head port". In 1562, Chester administered the entire north-west coast of England and Wales from the Scottish Border to Barmouth.(1)

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The Status of Chester in the Organisation of the Customs.

The head port had special significance because the principal customs officers had to reside there. These officers, appointed for life or a period of years by letters patent, were three in number; the Customer, or collector;

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(1) R.C. Jarvis. The Head Port of Chester and Liverpool, its Crook and Member. Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs., Ches., vol. 102, 1950, p. 72, et seq. This is a very valuable paper.

tho Comptrollor who kopt a "countor roll" as a chock on tho returns mado indopondontly by tho collector; and tho Soarchor, who oxamined all ships on arrival, or boforo doparturo. Thus, in tho sixtoonth contury, tho throo patont officors for tho north-wost coast woro rosidont in Chostor.

Boing rosponsiblo for such an oxtonsivo coastlino, thoso officors usod to appoint doputios to carry out thoir dutios in tho lossor ports, or "crooks", scattorod along tho coast-lino; this practico was officially rocognisod in 1558.(1) By this timo tho Chostor patont officors had doputios in Caornarvon, Beaumaris, Livorpool, Poulton and Lancastor. In tho lattor part of tho contury Carlislo boeamo a soparato hoad port, with Whitohavon as a crook within its coastlino.

From 1600 to 1671, tho patont officors woro not ontirely rosponsiblo for tho collection of dues, bocauso tho customs woro put out to "farm", that is tho collection was lot out to a particular porson or syndicato in roturn for a rent paid to tho Crown. Tho "farmors" had thoir own collectors, but tho patont Customors continuod in office in ordor to rondor cortain accounts to tho Exchoquor, and to handlo tho const' businoss which was not touchod upon by tho "farmors." Aftor

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(1) 1.Eliz.2.8. In this Act Chostor was ono of tho six namod ports in tho Kingdom; tho othors boing London, Southampton, Bristol, Nowcastlo and Hull.

the quarrel with Charles I, the Long Parliament regulated the customs collections by a parliamentary committee, but with the Restoration there was a return to the farming-system. This did not prove successful, and so, in 1671, Customs Commissioners were appointed to take over their entire administration.(1) During this reorganisation the former system of "head ports" and "creeks" was replaced by a more elaborate three-tier system. The more important havens within the head port's coastline became its "members", the lesser ones, its "crooks." The organisation for the port of Chester under this three-tier system established in 1671 was as follows:-

Port.	Member.	Crook.
Chester.	Lancaster	(Piel Fowdrey (Grange.
	Poulton	(Wyrewater (Preston and Ribblewater.
	Liverpool	(Sankey (Frodsham (South Shore of the River Mersey (from the Red Stones.

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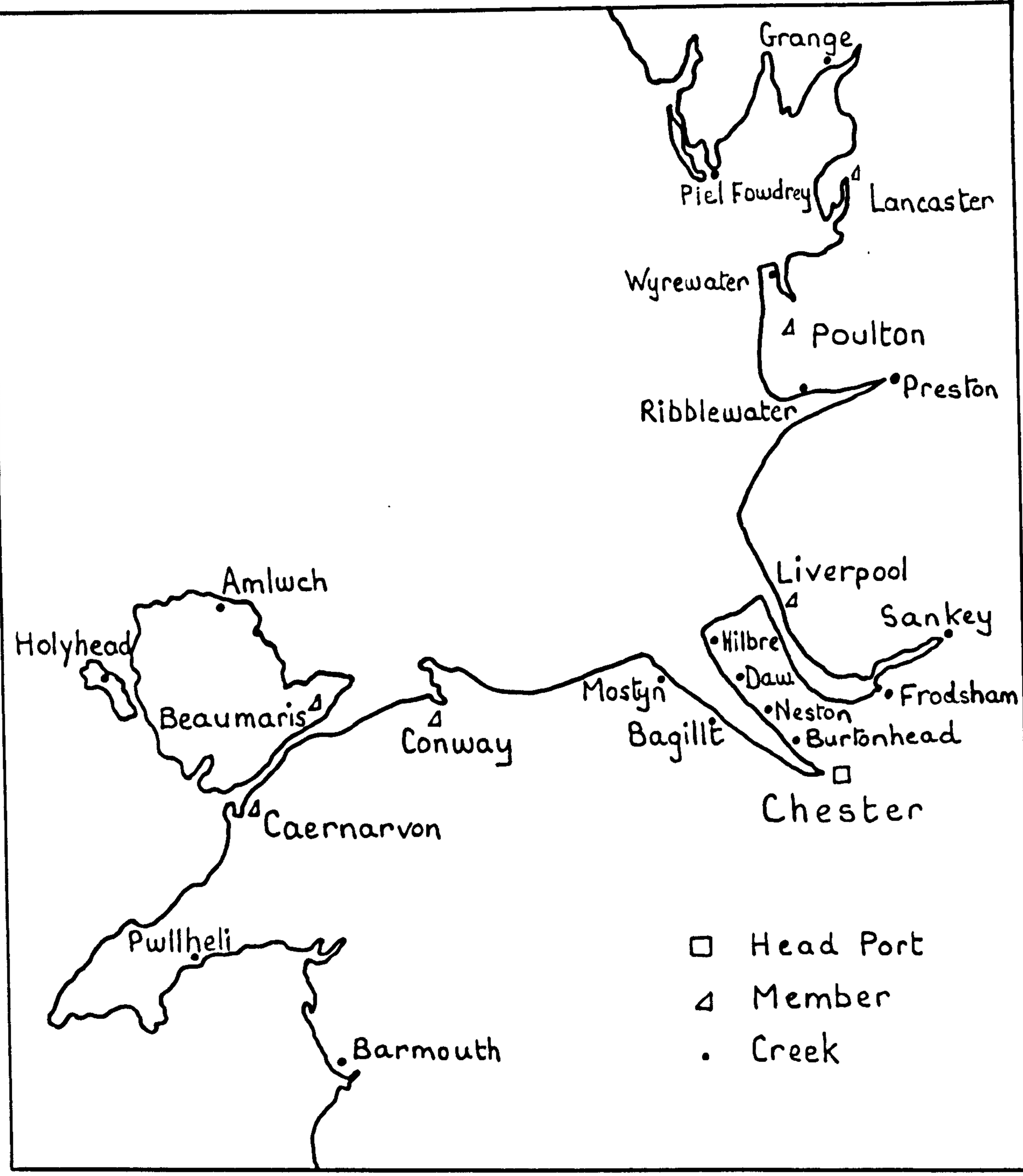
(1) Custom House. An Establishment of the Officers of the Customs belonging to the Outports, 1671. P.R.O. Shaftesbury Papers 30/24. 41 and British Museum Sloane MSS. 1425.

CUSTOMS ORGANISATION c. 1700



Port.	Member.	Creek.
Chester	Chester.	(Hilbre (Dawpool (Neston (Burtonhead (Bagillt (Mostyn
Conway		
Beaumaris		(Holyhead (Amlwch
Caernarvon		(Pwllheli (Barmouth

The head port, i.e. Chester, had the three resident patent officers, the member ports had their deputies, and the term creek was restricted to those havens where overseas trade could not be lawfully transacted except by "special sufferance". This system distinction between the head port and its members, was purely for administrative purposes relative to the offices of the patent holders. For general statistical purposes both head ports and their members were classified as the outports and in a very large measure, the outports were independent of each other.(1)

This organisation of the customs produced considerable

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(1) "The Member is distinguished by a subordination to and dependance upon the Head Port, in respect to the three Patent Officers ... but except in this subjection, it is wholly independent of, and in no way different from, the Head Port." 15th Report of Commissioners Appointed to Examine the Public Accounts, 1787, Appendix. p. 176.

friction botwoon Chostor and Livorpool, which was, in 1600, a crook within tho port of Chostor. Rolations had boon mado more difficult when the customs procedure was tightened up in 1565. Under the new arrangements, each patent officer received twice a year a bundlo of blank parchmont books, one of which was for his own uso, and ono for each of his doputies. When tho officors had mado thoir ontries tho books woro roturnod to tho Exchoquor. Thoso woro tho Port Books now in tho Public Record Offico.[1] In 1565, tho doputies' port books woro rocoivod in Livorpool from Chostor with considorablo angor. It was thought that tho citizons of Chostor so lookod down upon Livorpool as a moro dopondoncy, that thoy might claim tho right of controlling Livorpool's trado. Mattors woro complicatod by tho fact that tho Company of Morchant Adventurors of Chostor had boon grantod in 1553, a monopoly of all tho oversoas trado conductod by tho City. Tho morchants of Livorpool woro anxious lost this monopoly should oxtond to all tho crooks of Chostor, including Livorpool; but in spito of all thoir protosts, tho Port Books continuod to bo issuod from Chostor.

Evontually tho disputo was roforrod to tho Privy Council. Tho Mastor of tho Rolls gavo judgmont in

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(1) Classifiod undor Exchoquor 190.

September, 1582 that this monopoly of the Merchant Adventurers did not extend to Liverpool.(1) The hard feelings had been made stronger by Chester's petition in August, 1580 for a monopoly in the trade of Manchester cottons, and the export of Keswick copper.(2) The animosity continued into the seventeenth century. For example, in 1619, contributions were requested from the port of Chester and its members, for use against the pirates then troublesome in the Irish Sea. The Mayor of Chester informed the Privy Council in March that the contributions would not reach one-fifth of the £100 required. Caernarvon and Beaumaris, he wrote, have but one ship, Chester has none, trading only in barks, and Liverpool has refused to reply to his summons.(3) Three weeks later, the Mayor of Liverpool informed the Council that the citizens of Liverpool had not attended to the summons of the Mayor of Chester, because the order was addressed only to the port and members of Chester, and Liverpool had "never been a member thereof." The citizens were willing to do their part in this service "and to try by law their right to independence of Chester."(4)

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(1) Acts of Privy Council, vol.13.,1581-82.pp.206-207.
(2) Calendar, State Papers Domestic., Addenda 1580-1625.p14.
(3) P.R.O. State Papers 14.107.
(4) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1619-32, p.34.

The fundamental problem at the root of the trouble was the lack of definition as to the proper extent and limits of the two ports. At one time Chester was claiming local dues on vessels using the Wirral side of the Mersey estuary. In 1660, a stone by the Red Stones at Hoylake, was to be used as the limit of each. By this arrangement all dues collected on the Dee side of the mark were Chester's property, and those collected on the east side of the Red Stones and on both sides of the Mersey, were Liverpool's property.(1)

Using this mark as a guide, the Customs Commissioners defined the two ports in 1680 as follows:-

"The Settlement of the Extent, Bounds and Limits of the Port of Chester in the County of Chester.

The said port extends from the foot of the River that comes from Ridland West-South-West to the Bar of Chester, Seawards, and thence to the Red Stones on the Point of Worral in Cheshire East-North-East.

"The Settlement of the Extent, Bounds and Limits of the Port of Liverpool in the County of Lancaster.

A Member of the Port of Chester in the County of Chester.

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(1) R. C. Jarvis op.cit. p. 78.

Tho said Port of Leverpool oxtonds from tho Red Stones on the Point of Worral, to the foot of Ribble Water in a direct line Northerly, and so upon the South Side of the said River to Hesketh Bank Easterly."(1)

Although the mark at the Red Stones was a visible sign of their mutual extent, tho ports remained in their former status as head port and member. Tho Customs Commissionors clarified this relationship in a warrant to the patent officers in both ports in September 1660. Tho warrant was made in answer to tho petition of the Mayor and citizens of Liverpool, praying that tho port of Liverpool may be distinct "as formerly" without any dependence on Chester.(2)

> "Howsoever the port of Liverpoole may otherwise be accomptod as a member of tho port of Chester, yet in tho execution it is and hath bin absolute of it, safe and distinct -- so that in case where any goods are imported into tho River Mersey -- or if tho merchants or owners shall afterwards desire a lett pass -- we desire and order that in this case tho merchants and others may freely pass without any interruption or stay other than by

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(1) Commissions returned into tho Court of Exchequer, Michaelmas Term, 1680 quoted in extenso by Jarvis.

(2) Calendar Treasury Books, 1660 - 67, vol. 1. p.23.

due examination of the certificate as lawfully coming from the port of Liverpoole." (1)

But in details of administration and establishment, Liverpool was not yet fully independent of Chester. Thus in 1671, Liverpool and Chester each had a surveyor of customs, but the one appointed at Chester was "also to survey the coast of the Rivers Dee and Mersey." (2) In 1674, when Robert Ansdell was appointed to maintain a boat at Hilbre and Hoylake, he was put on the establishment of Chester, although this was the main anchorage for ships proceeding to Liverpool. The final clarification of the establishments came in 1688, when the Customs Commissioners authorized William Carter to make a special survey of the port of Chester because of the increasing volume of its trade. (3) He recommended higher fees to be paid by the principal patent officers to their deputies in Liverpool, Poulton and Lancaster. An extra boat with two boatmen was to be stationed at Parkgate and Hilbre for the better guarding of Chester Water, and Richard Ansdell, the boatman of Hilbre and Hoylake, would be transferred to the establishment of Liverpool, which was "nearer to his station and much more convenient for his

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(1) Calendar Treasury Books, 1660 - 67, vol.1. p.63.

(2) An Establishment of the Officers of the Customs, 1671.

(3) Calendar, Treasury Books 1685 - 89, vol. 8. pt.iv. p.1948.

receiving his salary." From henceforth Hoylake was more firmly attached to Liverpool in the Customs organisation. Carter's proposals clearly indicated that greater independence and authority was to be given to the deputies in Liverpool, thus bringing their status more precisely into alignment with the changed maritime and commercial conditions. From henceforth Liverpool had the larger establishment of customs officers as a consequence of its greater volume of trade, but technically it remained a member of the port of Chester throughout the eighteenth century. In 1700 the establishment of customs officers at Chester was much smaller than at Liverpool. Chester had a collector, a surveyor (who was responsible for the coasts of both the Dee and the Mersey), three landwaiters, one of whom looked after the coast business, and another, kept a horse, in order to visit the coast between Neston and Shotwick, four tidesmen, one tidesurveyor, and two boatmen. There were two landwaiters at Neston, another two at Mostyn and Flint, and one at Rhuddlan.

Liverpool at that time had a collector, who had the assistance of an established clerk, a riding surveyor responsible for the Lancashire coast, a surveyor, seven landwaiters, one tidesurveyor, seventeen tidesmen and seven boatmen. Other officials at the crooks within the port included a searcher at Mools, a surveyor at Sankey Bridge,

a searcher at Bankfields, two searchers at Frodsham and two surveyors in the Isle of Man. The customs frigate based on Holyhead was also chargeable to the Liverpool establishment.(1)

During the eighteenth century, the number of officials at Liverpool was further increased, but the changes at Chester were on a much smaller scale. Fewer officials were needed in Chester itself, while more were required on the Welsh shore to handle the coal trade, and at Parkgate and Dawpool, which were the principal anchorages in the eighteenth century. In 1748, there was a deputy customer and a deputy comptroller at Parkgate, assisted by four tidesmen, four boatmen, and two porters, and by two waiters at Neston. On the Welsh shore, at Flint, Bagillt and Mostyn, there were now five waiters and three boatmen. A riding surveyor was based on Rhuddlan.(2)

The three-tier system remained until the reorganisation of the Customs in the early years of the nineteenth century. When the offices of paid patent holders were abolished, then the three-tier system could be replaced by a less cumbersome arrangement of separate outports with their own members and their own staff of officials. The new system of separate

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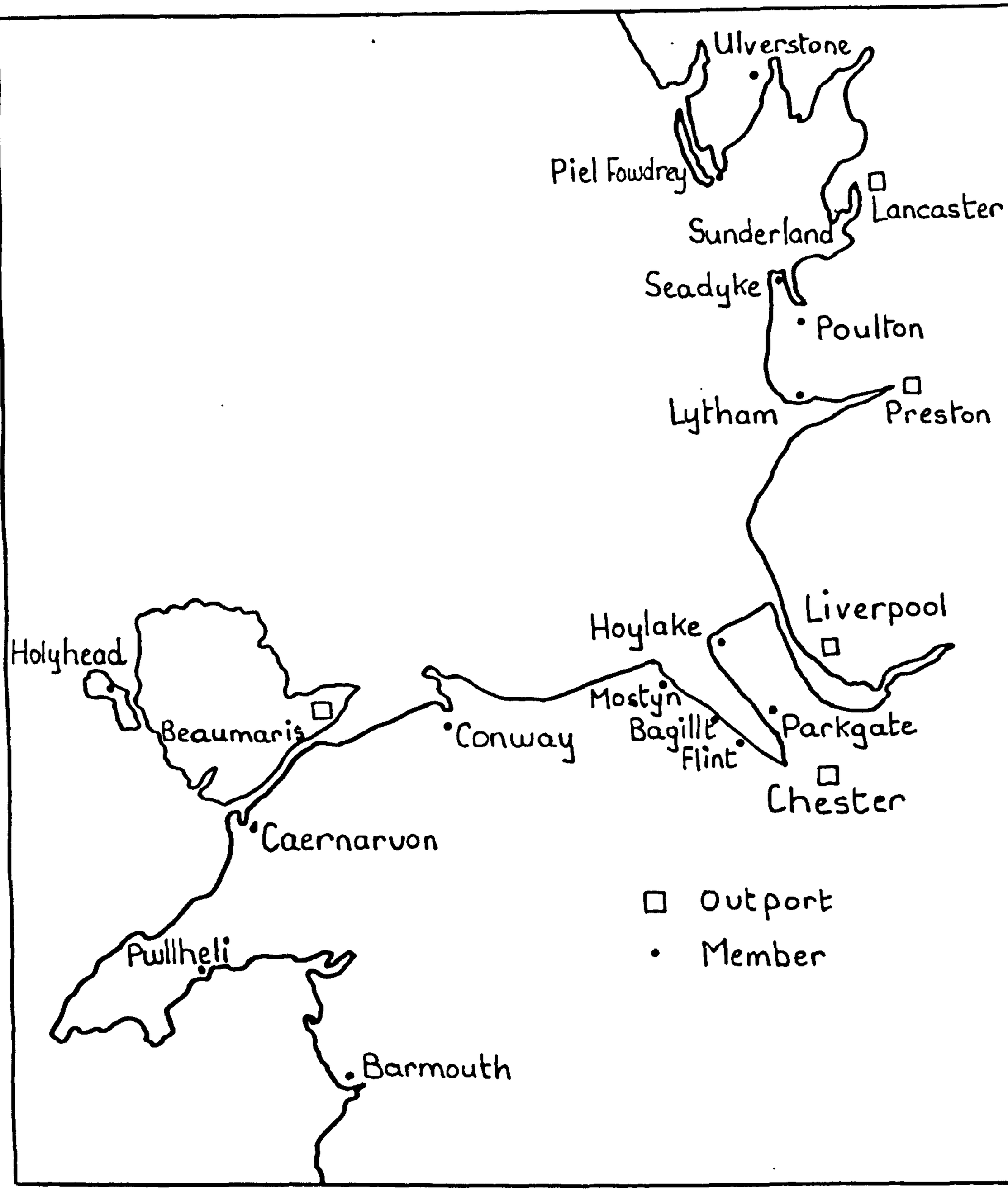
(1) P.R.O. Customs 18/50

(2) British Museum Add. MSS.30.230.

CUSTOMS ORGANISATION c. 1800



outports was as follows:-

Outport.	Members.
Whitehaven	Workington. Maryport Harrington
Lancaster	Ulverstone Piel Fowdrey Sunderland
Preston	Lytham Poulton Seadyke
Liverpool	Hoylake
Chester	Parkgate Flint Bagillt Mostyn
Beaumaris	Conway Caernarvon Pwllheli Barmouth Holyhead

The Port of Chester extended from the Red Stones to the mouth of the River Clwyd.

(ii)

The Port Books.

The understanding of the general organisation of the Customs during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is important for two reasons. Firstly, it is necessary in order to appreciate Chester's status as a port and to

understand the nature of the quarrel with Liverpool.

Secondly, the main source of information about the maritime trade of Chester lies in the records and ledgers kept by the customs officials. Of these records, the most important are the Port Books.

The Port Books were introduced in 1565 and remained in use until finally discontinued by a Treasury Order of March 14, 1799. Unfortunately they do not provide a continuous record of the City's trade during that period of nearly two and a half centuries, because a large number have been lost, and, of course, of those that remain, many are scarcely readable, owing to the damage received in storage.

The original purpose of the Port Books was to provide a detailed and accurate account of all shipping entering and leaving the ports of England and Wales, and so to minimise the evasion of customs payments. Under the procedure began in 1565, the Court of the Exchequer would send twice in the year to each patent customer, comptroller, and searcher "one Booke in Parchment under the Exchequer Seale in a Tynne Box with the leaves numbered of Records; and so many like Bookes besides to every of their Deputies that have taken any Entries of Merchants, Inwards or Outwards, at any Creekes within ten yeares before the first yeare of the Queen Majestie's Regne." In these books the officers were to enter details of all ships' cargoes handled by the

port. Besides the books for overseas trade, special books were also issued for the coast trade. These coast books were specially inscribed on the front cover:

"The Port of Chester"

"A blank book containing -- leaves for the Customer's and Comptroller's duties within the said port of Chester of all goods and merchandize to be carried between port and port, and for certificates from the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord God. Anno --, until the Feast of St. John the Baptist then next following, that is to say for the space of halfe a year."

The coast books were issued generally twice yearly, but there were occasions when they were issued for the whole year.(1) The overseas books were always for a year's duration, commencing on Christmas Day.

Both the overseas and coast books contained the name of each ship, its master, details of the cargo, and the names of the merchants for whom the cargoes were being carried. The early seventeenth century books specified the port of the ships' registration and their tonnage. Tonnage, or burden, was a computed figure, reckoned in tons of 2000 lbs. weight, and signifying the tonnage the ship was capable of carrying in merchandise, ammunition, provisions, men or

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(1) See Appendix I.

ballast. The incoming cargoes were listed at one end of the book, the outgoing at the other. Generally the port of origin or destination of the cargo was specified, but this was omitted in some of the seventeenth century books, when listing, for example coal shipments to Ireland. The port of origin which was listed in the Port books can be misloading, as in the case of wine, fruit, oil and corkwood shipments from Dublin, which may have come from Spain or Portugal in the same ship which had merely called at Dublin. In the coast books the member ports trading with Chester were specified, but no mention was normally given of the creek within the limits of the member, with which trade was actually conducted. Cargoes, for example, from Beaumaris, in many of the seventeenth century books, may have come from Amlweh, Holyhead, or Bangor, which had not yet been specified as lawful crooks or quays. In the eighteenth century books the crooks were specified without any reference to their superior member.

Until 1671, the customs were let out to farm, but this only concerned foreign trade and not the coasting trade. Afterwards the Government took over their collection, and as a consequence, the Customers' and Comptrollers' books contained entries for the amounts paid. The searchers' books, however, merely gave details of ships and their

cargoos and a note that payments had been made, because the Searchers' duties were to check the shipments against the bills of lading.

The coast books were complicated because of the variety of methods under which coasting trade was conducted. Firstly, there was the method which required cocquets and the issue of bonds. A cocquet was an outward clearance certificate. Cocquets were deemed necessary when the cargo was of such a nature that it might be surreptitiously shipped abroad without the payment of customs. The cocquet specified the English or Welsh port for which the goods were destined, and the merchant, or group of merchants, shipping them, who had deposited a sum of money with the customs officers as surety that the goods would be duly landed. The bond certified the amount of money deposited. When the cargo arrived at its destination, a certificate was sent back for the release of the money.

There were other methods which did not involve the taking out of bonds. Shipment could be made "on sufferance" for goods which were English or Welsh in origin, and were unlikely to be shipped abroad. Many of the eighteenth century shipments from the North Wales ports to Chester, particularly of slates, were made under this system. When customs duty might be forced on a coastal trader at the port of unloading, this

could be avoided if the shipment had been made "per transire", which specified the port of origin. Transires were sometimes issued instead of the normal cocquet and bond, especially for small cargoes. On December 24th, 1728, however, all coasters were ordered to take out cocquets and bonds when loading foreign goods and using transires, if duties exceeded one pound.(1) Lastly, if duty had been paid on imported goods, they could be shipped coastwise, and be immune from further payments, if they were accompanied by a certificate stating that the import duties had been paid. Many of the coast books after 1740 only contained entries of those shipments made under cocquet and bond arrangements. In such cases, the coast book was not a complete record of all the coastal shipments. This explains why a number of ships entered in the Register of Ships, kept by the River Dee Company, 1739 - 1769,(2) as having paid river dues, were not listed in the Chester coast books. This deficiency can be in some measure supplemented by reference to the coast books of member ports making shipments to Chester. Thus, the Caernarvon and Beaumaris coast books for that period contained entries of shipments of slates to Chester on sufferance, not listed in the Chester coast books, which then

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(1) P.R.O. Treasury Board Papers 278/4.

(2) Cheshire County Archives.

comprised only shipments entailing cocquets. Similarly, the Doe Company Register contained entries of iron ore shipments from Ulverstone and Piel Fowdrey, not listed in the Chester coast books.

(iii)

The Port Books as Source Material.

This leads to the question of the accuracy and the completeness of the material contained in the Chester Port Books. Serious doubts have been thrown upon the accuracy of the later Port Books by G.N.Clark.(1) More recently, N.J.Williams has strongly criticised the Elizabethan Port Books for Kings Lynn, showing how leading local merchants were able to keep the details of their trading ventures almost completely out of the customs records.(2) The criticisms are serious and it is important to maintain a cautious attitude to the Port Books as accurate documentation. Let us consider two aspects of this question; one, customs evasion and smuggling; and two, inefficiency by the customs officials in the keeping of their records, and in particular, in their keeping of the Port Books.

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(1) G.N.Clark, Guide to English Commercial Statistics 1696 - 1782, London, 1938. pp. 52 - 56.

(2) N.J.Williams, Francis Shaxton and the Elizabethan Port Books, English Historical Review, Vol.LXVI,No.260 July 1951, pp.387 - 95.

N.J.Williams stated that, "From the first imposition of duties until the establishment of a loyal and efficient customs service, if a merchant's primary concern was the safe arrival of his cargo at its point of discharge, his second was the evasion of customs." (1) This evasion could take two forms. Either the ships' captains and merchants made false declarations so that less customs were paid than were legally required; or there was deliberate smuggling. Smuggling was much more extensive in the eighteenth century than it had been in the seventeenth, on the coasts of Lancashire and Cheshire. In this respect the north west coast was not exceptional. Smuggling increased throughout the British Isles between 1690 and 1710 because the numerous increases in customs duties which were necessary to finance the French wars, made it very worthwhile. To counter this, a cutter was stationed at Hoylake, and a frigate at Holyhead. An extra boat was provided at Parkgate to help intercept the ships which passed close to the Welsh shore at night. Smuggling had become easier at this time because the introduction of fore-and aft-rigging, to replace the square rigging, enabled ships to come inshore and move out again quickly, using the same wind. In this way, coasting cargoes

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(1) N.J.Williams, op. cit. p.387.

could be shipped outwards without the taking out of cocquets and the making of large deposits required for bonds. There are records of seizures made by the officials, but these are little more than an indication that smuggling was taking place.(1)

In effect, smuggling resulted in the Port Books failing to enumerate the total shipments made. The inefficiency of the officials themselves produced further deficiencies. The three patent officers and their deputies were originally intended to keep independent records, which would provide checks upon each other's work. The fact that the Comptrollers' Customers' and Searchers' books were nearly always identical copies of one another, particularly in their arrangement of shipments in the same order, would suggest that the officials and their clerks were not working separately to provide these independent checks. The entries which involved the payment of money for transmission to the Customs Commissioners, were more likely to have been accurate than those which did not. Thus, the entries of cocquets and bonds were probably more complete than the entries for those coasting shipments which did not require monetary deposits by the master and merchants. On the other hand, it would have been in the interest of the merchants to reveal a smaller tonnage of cargo because the

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(1) R.C.Jarvis, The Customs Cruisers of the North West in the Eighteenth Century. Trans.Hist.Soc.of Lancs and Ches. vol.99.1947,pp.41 - 51.

amounts required to be paid for the taking out of bonds were exceedingly heavy.

The details themselves of the shipments as entered in the Port Books, displayed a deceiving air of accuracy. For shipments of lead, precise numbers of pigs of lead were recorded and then the weight in tons, hundredweights, quarters and pounds. Similarly quantities of tobacco were specified in pounds weight; but cheese was always recorded in tons and only in hundredweights when the amount was less than a ton. Similarly slates were listed in thousands. We have no means of knowing how the officials measured these cargoes on the quays or at the anchorages at Chester, Neston, Parkgate or at the exporting ports. One may suspect that they, knowing that it was customary to record particular commodities in a particular manner, or in special units (i.e. calf skins in dozens, lambskins in hundreds of 120, or their equivalent wool, found by computation, in great stones and pounds, linen in units of a hundred ells and later in packs and in yards) arrived at an approximate figure in consultation with the captain and merchants; or perhaps they merely guessed. If this was so, then the accuracy of the figures in the Port Books is seriously in doubt.

The efficiency of the officials must have varied during the two centuries. There were occasions when officials were

dismissed or reprimanded for corruption or inefficiency. In April 1678, for example, a request was made to the Customs Commissioners for the surveyor at Chester to be re-admitted to his post from which he had been suspended for negligence.(1) In the same month the landwaiter at Chester was dismissed for having been "criminal" in his duties. In October 1682 Oliver Lyme, the Comptroller, and James Vernon, the Customer, were pardoned for "offences against the Customs".(2) Again, in March 1700, the surveyor, Edward Done, (a landwaiter) appointed in 1685, was dismissed for "great remissness and neglect of duty".(3)

In 1713, a Committee of the House of Lords, reported that the Port Books were "in great disorder and confusion" but the Lord Treasurer, Harley, pointed out that directives had been issued for putting the Books in order and improving their worth.(4) G.N. Clark was of the opinion that the Port Books "were probably affected by the decadence of customs administration in the eighteenth century" and pointed out that the Commissioners of Public Accounts reported very unfavourably on their accuracy and value in 1782.(5)

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(1) Calendar, Treasury Books 1676 - 79. vol. 5. pt.ii.p.976.
(2) Calendar. Treasury Books 1681 - 85. vol.7.pt.i.pp.612-13.
(3) Calendar of Treasury Books, 1699-1700 vol.15. p.302.
(4) Lords Journals, XIX. pp.586,606-7,612; House of Lords Papers, VIII, pp. 29 - 30.
(5) G.N.Clark op.cit. p.54.

Bearing these factors in mind, one can consider that the entries in the Port Books are more than just an indication that trade in particular commodities was taking place, but at the same time they do not provide a precise quantitative definition of the trade. The total annual shipments of commodities which can be compiled, are not an absolute measure of the trade, but they do provide a minimum figure. The errors are more likely to have been of omission rather than fabrication. Furthermore, the absence of particular commodities from the Port Books for particular years is not by itself proof that trade was not taking place in those commodities at that time. It may have been that the local officials temporarily omitted to enter these commodities. For example, some of the Port Books after 1740, recorded only outgoing shipments of lead and coal, although the trade to Ireland in luxuries and manufactured goods, cannot have been temporarily abandoned.

A difficulty arises from the uncertainty as to whether the dates of entry in the Port Books were the actual dates of the ships' arrivals and departures, or whether they merely indicated the dates when the clerks made their book keeping entries in the ledgers. For large shipments of the main commodities, the entries were probably made near to the sailing dates; but for irregular cargoes, they may have been more

variable. Thus in 1752, there were 29 shipments of lead ore from Aberdovey, dated June 27th and another 27 on October 24th; although normally only a few shipments were made each year.

A further weakness of the material is the difficulty of making comparisons over long periods of time. For example, the coast books did not always give a true picture of the number of ships in the coasting trade. The early ones recorded all shipments irrespective of whether the shipment was made by cocquet, transire or sufferance. The books for the second half of the eighteenth century recorded only those made by cocquet. Comparisons are more satisfactory for the main commodities, which were systematically recorded over long periods; for example, coal and cheese after 1680, cattle in the middle years of the seventeenth century, and lead in the eighteenth century.

In addition to these considerable reservations about the accuracy of the material contained in them, the Port Books also suffer from numerous gaps in their continuity. Although the compilation of the Port Books officially continued until March, 1799, the last books available today for Chester are for 1774, although those for some of the member ports, Beaumaris, for example, continue until 1790. Between 1600 and 1774 there are some periods for which none now exist. These

major gaps are from 1641 to 1660, and from 1731 to 1739; the latter being the important years when the improvements to the navigation of the Dee were being undertaken by Kinderley. The first forty years of the seventeenth century, and the period from 1660 to 1679 are today represented by books for occasional years or half years. From 1680 to 1730 the record is more continuous, and from 1739 to 1774 it is good.(1)

Two factors contributed to the loss of individual Port Books. Firstly, there was the difficulty, especially in the seventeenth century, of returning them to headquarters in London. For instance, in 1620, the Chester overseas Port Book arrived late in London, because the Searcher in Chester having died, the book had had to be brought by the Chester carrier.(2) The Comptroller at that time, avoided making the long journey to London, by undertaking, on oath, to deliver his books to two gentleman commissioners. In 1685, the Searchers at Chester, were asking for an additional £3-6s.-8d. per year, on the grounds that "One of them being now come up to deliver in their Port Books, which is a great charge to them.(3) Secondly, there were the ravages of two

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(1) See Appendix I. which contains a list of the Port Books.
(2) E 190. 1332/1
(3) Calendar, Treasury Books, 1685 - 89. vol. 8. pt. 1. p. 324.

fires at the Custom House in London, one in 1714 and a second, one hundred years later. Some were lost in the fires, others deteriorated through getting wet and then being neglectfully stored during the nineteenth century. This deterioration has made many of the existing Port Books incomplete, because large or small sections of the books have become illegible. This means that any lists compiled from many Port Books, of quantities of commodities shipped, or numbers of incoming and outgoing cargoes, are likely to have omissions, and indicate, therefore, quantities of trade below the amount of actual trade.

But in spite of these shortcomings the Port Books provide a large body of original, authentic material, which is unobtainable from other sources. This material needs to be used with care; the numerical details of ships and commodities must be treated as "figures" rather than "Statistics", and these "figures" must not be considered adequate for statistical analysis. In fact, the Port Books provide invaluable general impressions of the growth and pattern of maritime trade during the two centuries, rather than the precise pictures of trade which can be produced today from

modern, economic statistics.(1)

(iv)

Supplementary Documentation.

Supplementary, original material concerning the trade of Chester is limited. It is derived from two sources; one is the records and ledgers maintained at the London headquarters of the Customs; and the other includes the local records kept by the Customs in Chester, the record ledgers maintained by the City officials, and the register of ships held by the River Dee Company. Neither of these sources supply material comparable to the Port Books.

During the eighteenth century the office of the Inspector-General of the Imports and Exports, produced a very considerable amount of digested statistical material, derived from information transmitted by the customs officers at the ports, and frequently required by Parliamentary Committees inquiring into matters of overseas trade. The annual abstracts produced by this office included details of imports and exports

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(1) The figures in the Port Books are not suitable for precise cartographical representation when the aim is to show, as in this study of the Port of Chester, changes over a period of two centuries. They would be suitable, however, to show contrasting trade patterns between several ports for a limited period of time.

to and from particular countries according to commodities. The returns for the outports were generally consolidated and only rarely were individual outports specified, because the aim of these lists was to describe the trade of the country as a whole. The primary material from which these lists were derived, was destroyed by the fires at the Custom House. This is the reason for the absence of head-quarters material about the port of Chester for the late eighteenth century, which could fill the gap between the last of the City Port Books in 1774, and 1800.

The records, other than the Port Books, compiled by the customs officials in Chester during the two centuries no longer exist, except for two Parkgate books; one is the Deputy Controller's Account, 1776 to 1789, now in the Custom House Library, London; the other is the Controller's Sub-sidy Book, 1790 to 1802, now in the City Archives. The remainder have been mislaid. The City Archives also include details of port dues collected on behalf of the City in the early years of the seventeenth century. These were not systematically accounted. The Customs Entry Books, which were used by the Sheriffs are extant to 1624, although considerably damaged and decayed. The entries in those books, at their best, provide details of cargoes which can be used to amplify and confirm data derived from the Port Books.

The Muragers' Account Book, volume 3, 1618 to 1801, contains receipts from shipping only for the period 1618 to 1628, and this section is much decayed through damp; the remainder of the book records entries of payments for repairs to the walls. The Register of Ships maintained by the River Dee Company, 1740 to 1769, and now among the Cheshire County Archives, provides a detailed list of ships which paid dues to the Company. This again supplements the Port Books. It is insufficiently reliable to be used for a precise correlation with the entries in the Port Books. The lists of ships in the Register do not correspond, ship by ship, with the lists in the Port Books, but as there are deficiencies on both sides, the one is not a satisfactory test for the other. In the face of this meagre supply of additional source material, the evidence of the Port Books, imperfect as it is, is invaluable for a study of the trade of the Port of Chester in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

CHAPTER 6.

Foreign Trade: 1600 to 1800[1]

Foreign trade was less important to Chester in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than the trade with Ireland, which provided the true life blood of the port. But the City had a tradition of trade with France dating back to the thirteenth century, when the merchants began to ship wine from Bordeaux. The wine trade had remained, in spite of the upsets of war, and, after 1553, it was in the hands of the Moore Merchants, who in the reign of Queen Elizabeth were also granted the right to export tanned calf-skins, which were shipped to France and Spain in return for French wine and Spanish iron and wool. This was the basis of the City's foreign trade in the early years of the seventeenth century. The late seventeenth century trade was based upon the exportation of pig lead and lead ore to the Low Countries, Spain and Portugal, and the importation of Spanish and Portuguese wine. There was also an extension of trade to include the shipping of timber, naval stores, iron, flax, and hemp from Scandinavian and Baltic ports. This continued to be the broad pattern of the City's foreign trade during the eighteenth century. It was a small trade,

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(1) All figures of trade in this and subsequent chapters have been compiled from the Port Books unless otherwise stated.

in which the most important single commodity was lead. It failed to extend in a large measure, outside European ports, and the volume of traffic between the City and the American colonies or Africa was extremely slight in comparison with not only Liverpool, but also Lancaster and Whitehaven.

The City's trade was considerably upset by wars during the two centuries. It was interrupted by the wars at the beginning of the seventeenth century and again in the 'twenties, when the City merely possessed small boats, and only occasionally ships of 100 tons burden, went out to France and Spain. The merchants had to contend with the pirates in the Irish Sea, and sometimes with French and Spanish privateers. In January 1627, letters of marque to take pirates were granted to Edward Jones, captain and owner of the Neptune of Chester, a ship of 130 tons burden.(1) In the following March, the Moore Merchants petitioned the Treasury for the release of a French ship, which their agents had chartered at Bordeaux to convey wines to Chester, and for the return of which, they had given security. The vessel had been detained in Beaumaris for three months and was in great danger.(2) In the 'thirties, the City merchants were again

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(1) Calendar, State Papers Domestic. 1628 - 29, p.289.

(2) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1627 - 28. p. 87.

ostablishod in La Rochollo, Bordoaux, San Sobastian, Bilbao, Cadiz and Malaga, with arrangomonts for money transactions and the uso of bills of oxchango.(1)

The Civil War, the Parliamontary siego of the City, and later the Dutch Wars, reduced the volume of trade in the middle years of the century. In May 1655, the Mayor could write "Our poor Chester merchants -- do not prosper; they have lost two ships to the Brest men, now one coming from San Sebastian, and the other going.(2) Unfortunately, the overseas Port Books of the City from 1642 to 1679 have perished, except for the ones for 1666 and 1677, which are in very poor condition. A report in August 1667, by the Collector of Customs, stated that "There are no ships bound for Portugal, the Plantations, Tangiers or Jersey and Guernsey. Now peace is concluded, some merchants begin to talk of sending to Cadiz and Bordeaux, but others are dull, though they have the best opportunities --- having plenty of lead, calves skins, fustians, and cottons."(3)

Trade revived after the time of the Restoration, but this revival was impeded by the wars against Louis XIV and France. In the opening decade of the eighteenth century, trade was upset by the War of the Spanish Succession. In

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(1) City Archives, Book of Protested Bills, op.cit.
(2) Hist. Manus. Commission, Sixth Report, p.438.
(3) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1667, p.423.

May, 1702, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Merchants of Chester, petitioned the Queen for greater protection for their ships, mainly on the grounds of the damage to the Irish trade. They emphasised that the City "doth chiefly depend upon Trade at Sea, and particularly to and from the City of Dublin and other ports of the Kingdom of Ireland." In times of war the Irish Sea was "infested with privateers." They had suffered "great and frequent losses" during the previous French wars, and now they wanted warships to cruise in the Irish Sea. The petition was signed by the Mayor and thirty-three merchants. The Admiralty was authorised to make the necessary arrangements.(1) Overseas trade was not stopped during the war years, but it was much reduced according to the Port Book entries. After the Peace of Utrecht, trade revived. It was again disturbed during the Continental Wars in the middle of the century and the American War of Independence. In 1777, the City Merchants requested the Admiralty to provide convoy protection against American privateers, which were giving trouble in the Irish Sea.(2) The request was, however, like the one in 1702, mainly intended to secure the trade with Dublin. The final blow to Chester's foreign trade came during the Napoleonic Wars, when the

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(1) The Cheshire Sheaf, Old Series, vol.1 1880, p.102.

(2) Adams's Courant Weekly, August 5th, 1777.

Orders in Council forbade the export of lead which, with numerous shipments to France, had become the most important item of trade.

Even in the periods of prosperity, the number of ships involved was not large; 13 outgoing shipments and 11 incoming shipments in 1620, 10 outgoing shipments and 20 incoming in 1700, and 32 outgoing shipments and 12 incoming in 1770. A detailed list of the outgoing vessels for the three years, 1715 to 1717, with their ports of destination and tonnage, emphasised the fluctuating character of the trade and the moderate size of the ships in which it was conducted.

Number of ships and their tonnage clearing from the Port of Chester for Foreign and Colonial Ports; 1715 to 1717.(1)

To	1715		1716		1717.	
	No.of ships.	Tonnage.	No.of ships.	Tonnage.	No. of ships.	Tonnage.
Bordeaux	2	170	3	130	-	-
Bilbao	1	20	-	-	2	70
Borgen	1	35	2	80	1	30
Canary Isles	-	-	1	40	1	45
Cadiz	-	-	-	-	1	100
Gothenburg	-	-	1	90	-	-
Havre de Grace	5	385	-	-	5	410
Holland	-	-	-	-	1	100
Leghorn	1	120	2	330	2	400
Lisbon	3	260	1	80	3	120
Middelburg	-	-	1	100	-	-
Morlaix	-	-	-	-	1	30
Norway	1	60	-	-	-	-

(1) P.R.O. C.O. 390/8.B.

To	1715 No.of Ships.	1715 Ton-nage.	1716 No.of Ships.	1716 Ton-nage.	1717 No.of Ships.	1717 Ton-nage.
Newfoundland	1	60	1	60	1	60
New Haven	-	-	-	-	1	40
Nantes	-	-	4	270	-	-
Naples	-	-	1	200	-	-
Oporto	1	25	3	120	2	60
Philadelphia	-	-	1	50	-	-
Rotterdam	4	360	7	355	4	195
Rouen	1	40	-	-	-	-
La Rochelle	-	-	2	110	2	264
Virginia	1	120	2	190	-	-
Venice.	1	140	-	-	1	200
Vianna	-	-	1	26	-	-
Zealand	-	-	-	-	1	70

(1)

Commodities in the Export Trade[1]

1. Tanned Calf-skins.

In 1605, a licence was granted to the Mayor of Chester for the City to export 12,600 dickers of tanned calf-skins during the following 21 years.[2] This was renewed in 1629. During the period 1605 to 1640, about 600 dickers were shipped in some years; thus, for example, in 1620, 620½ dickers were exported to Bordeaux, Bilbao, San Sebastian and La Rochelle. Merchants taking part in the trade were Andrew and William Gamull, William and Thomas Aldersey,

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(1) See Appendices II, A, B and C.

(2) Calendar, State Papers Domestic. 1603 - 1610, p.202. One dicker contained 10 dozen tanned calf-skins.

Humphrey Lloyd, William Clegg, Charles Fitton, William Eaton and Robert Berry. In other years the shipments were less; 87 dickers in 1639, and 189 dickers in 1641, for example. In 1660, the Mayor and citizens petitioned the King on behalf of the City merchants. Because of the interruptions to the trade, they had been unable to derive full benefit from the licence to export 12,000 dickers within 21 years, having shipped only 8,000. They requested permission to export the remaining 4,000, and to be granted a further licence to export 16,000 dickers during the next 21 years, in order to repay the decay of trade.(1) Unfortunately, the overseas Port Books for the period 1660 to 1679 are not available to show the results of this request. From 1680 to 1774 there were entries in the Port Books for shipments of tanned calf-skins, but they were never as large as those for good years before 1640, nor were they of such relative importance in the overall pattern of the foreign trade. In the early years of the seventeenth century the calf-skins had been the staple export; in the eighteenth century they were additional to the principal export of lead. Those later exports were, in the main, to Portugal, Spain, Italy and Gibraltar.

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(1) Calendar, State Papers Domestic. 1660-61. p.384.

2. Lead.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, shipments of lead were small. For example, the Collector of New Impositions recorded six outgoing shipments of 32 tons 6 cwts. in the Lady Day Quarter of 1623. The destinations were not specified. Larger shipments were recorded in the Port Books in 1680 and afterwards. In 1680, for example, there were three large shipments of lead ore; one of 42 tons, in the St. Anne of Brugos; the second of 65½ tons, in the Rebecca and Elizabeth of London; and the third of 62 tons, and 12 tons of pig lead, in the America of Yarmouth. In this Port Book destinations were not specified, but they were probably for the Low Countries, as many were in the years immediately following. The real expansion in the lead exports took place in the last decade of the century, especially as a result of the work of the London Quaker Lead Company, which later improved methods of smelting. In 1698, nearly 1800 tons, of which about two-thirds were ore, were exported to the Low Countries. In later years, the greater part of the lead exported was pig lead which had been smelted in Flintshire, although the Low Countries continued to ship quantities of ore. The large ships in the foreign trade anchored at Parkgate, or in Dawpool Deep. There they took on their cargo of lead, (pig lead, lithargo, shot, red or white lead) from

lighters. An authorisation slip, accidentally preserved in one of the Port books indicated the formalities which had to be fulfilled when a ship was lading.(1) It stated:

"Port Chester.

Permit John Allen to ship on Board the Neptune of Dublin, Thomas Lynch, Master, for Rotterdam, Ninety tons of Lead, but not to Export the Fame till further Warrant; Endorsing the Quantity shipt on the Fide. Dated at the Custom-Houfe, the Nineth Day of January, 1712."

(signed) Wm. Anderton,
Joseph Sewell
Coll.

On the reverse of this slip, the following endorsement was written:

"Bagillt, March y 6th. 1712/13

Ladon yn five boates Three large pigs and foure hundred small pigs qt. One hundred and six Tuns, - fiftoen hundred-Woight and Elovon pounds of Lead to be shipt on board the within mentioned at Dawpool."

(signed) John Thomas.

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(1) E.190 1381/1

Annual Exports of Lead in Tons; 1698 to 1774.

	Northern Europe[1]	Low Countries.	France.	Spain.	Portugal	Gibraltar	Italy	Total.
1698	71	1796	-	3	-	-	100	1970
1700	-	314	-	-	11	-	-	325
1705	-	207	-	-	1	-	-	208
1710	-	119	-	-	54	-	-	173
1716	35	548	319	-	106	-	340	1348
1722	110	137	500	36	215	55	172	1225
1726	-	756	402	59	167	114	215	1713
1729	183	224	798	449	302	289	59	2304
1740	108	97	766	-	415	86	346	1818
1745	47	18	-	-	748	226	918	1957
1751	68	12	-	176	376	1585	-	2217
1756	-	130	-	343	1220	-	-	1693
1760	-	43	-	-	774	-	256	1073
1765	179	69	1493	-	-	-	683	2424
1770	-	241	2037	-	49	-	660	2987
1774	-	234	646	-	7	-	357	1244

The shipment of lead to the Low Countries declined during the first decade of the eighteenth century. In 1708, only 74 tons were exported to them. When the trade revived, it was on a much smaller scale, generally between 200 and 400

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(1) Germany, Scandinavian and Baltic ports.

tons per year. 1726 was a minor peak year when the Low Countries received 750 tons of Flintshire lead. The trade ebbed in the middle years of the century, but later returned to the modest level of earlier years. The cargoes were sent to Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Middelburg, Ghent, Bruges and Ostend.

France shipped quantities of lead intermittently. After the Peace of Utrecht the trade increased to about 750 tons per year. 1717 was an exceptional year when France imported about 1250 tons, largely through La Rochelle and Le Havre. When, in 1743, France imported more than 1000 tons, three-quarters were shipped through Marseilles, and the remainder through Rouen, Nantes, Rochefort, Bordeaux and St. Malo. During the subsequent war years, the trade stopped. It revived after 1763, and from thence forward, France was the largest foreign importer of Flintshire lead, taking a yearly average shipment of about 2,000 tons between 1766 and 1770. During this later period, the main cargoes were to Marseilles, Bordeaux, Rochefort and Le Havre.

Large quantities were shipped to Portugal between 1740 and 1765. The largest annual shipments exceeded 1000 tons; individual cargoes to Lisbon frequently exceeded 150 tons. During the period 1749 to 1750, big consignments were sent to Gibraltar, 1277 tons in 1749 and 1585 tons in 1751.

Much of this may have been distributed from Gibraltar to other ports in the Western Mediterranean. Spanish ports of Cadiz, Malaga, San Sebastian, and Bilbao took small quantities intermittently. Italian ports - Leghorn, Venice, Genoa and Ancona - made irregular shipments after 1715. In 1748, 1800 tons were exported to Leghorn and Venice, but from 1749 to 1754 no shipments were recorded in the Port Books. Later shipments were much smaller, generally less than 600 tons per year.

Several Chester merchants took a lively interest in this lead trade, especially George and Thomas Prescott between 1720 and 1750, and Thomas Tylston, John Hincks, John Chamberlaine, James Folliott, William Farrington and John Holford. The foreign trade in lead was not as large, however, as the coasting trade to London, Bristol and Liverpool in the eighteenth century. In the last decade of the century, the foreign exports declined rapidly, according to the figures quoted by Pennant, who received them from the Collector of Customs in Chester.

Table of Total Annual Export of Lead: 1776 to 1806[1] is shown on the next page.

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(1) T. Pennant Tow. vol. 3. p. 280.

Year	Tonnage.
1776	1352
1786	1655
1796	160
1806	11

The final breakdown occurred during the Napoleonic Wars, when the economic blockade of the continent forbade the trade. The main overseas market in France was lost, and although the home demands remained, a considerable recession came to the lead smelting industry, producing many bankruptcies and much unemployment between 1805 and 1813.

3. Miscellaneous Exports.

Chester suffered from a shortage of commodities suitable for export to the continent of Europe. Items, other than tanned calf-skins in the first half of the seventeenth century, and lead in the eighteenth century, were shipped irregularly and in very small quantities. Of these additional commodities, the most important was cloth in the period 1600 to 1640.

The Moore Merchants shipped kerseys, broadcloths, fustians, Kidderminster stuffs and cottons, as well as tanned calf-skins, to La Rochelle, San Sebastian, Bilbao, Cadiz and Malaga. The quantities were not large, and the shipments were much less regular than those of calf-skins. Probably a large part of the cloth shipped abroad was made

by weavers in the City.

Occasional shipments of coal were made to Oporto, Lisbon, Guernsey and Newfoundland in the eighteenth century. Between 1700 and 1720, shipments of white refined salt were made to Rotterdam, Bergen and Stockholm. In 1704, 15500 bushels were exported to Rotterdam, but this was an exceptional year and the quantity was small in comparison with the amounts being shipped to the continent from Liverpool.

A range of manufactured goods was included in the occasional outgoing cargoes to the American colonies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These included haberdashery, linen, saddles, leather, ironmongery, nails, pewter, tobacco pipes, earthenware, window glass and grindstones.

(ii)

Commodities in the Import Trade.

1. Wine.

Chester had an unusual position in the wine trade. Henry VII had granted the City exemption from all customs except those of prise wine and iron.[1] When Mary Tudor

(1) Details of prisage are given in the introduction to Miss M.J. Groombridge's Calendar of the Council Minutes of the City of Chester, 1603 - 1642. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Manchester, 1951.

in 1558 laid an impost of 4d. a ton on imported wines, the Chester merchants did not pay. In 1567, the Lord Treasurer had issued a warrant discharging the City merchants from payment of this, because of a clause in the charter granted by Henry VII.[1] This exemption, however, terminated on the death of Queen Elizabeth. In 1604, the King granted the farm of prise wines in the County Palatine of Chester to Robert Singleton for thirty-one years; in the following year the King allowed the City to rent this farm from Singleton.[2] The rates of payment at that time were £4 per ton for dry wine, and £7. 3s. 4d. for sweet. When this farm was inherited by William Singleton, difficulties arose. William Singleton took legal action against the Mayor over the collection of the prisage. In spite of the result of action confirming the City's right to collect the prisage, Singleton continued to collect it himself. It was not until 1624 that Singleton was made to pay the revenue owing to the City.

Previous to this, Sir Richard Calveley became farmer of the customs on wine. In February 1625, five Chester merchants, William Gamull, William Aldersey, Andrew Gamull, William Clogg and Thomas Throppe obtained a seven-year lease

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(1) Harleian MSS. 2104. f.312.

(2) City Archives, First Assembly Book, January 16th, 1607/8; Corporation Lease Book, f. 104.v.

of Calveley's rights at a premium of £650 per annum.(1) This did not become a permanent arrangement. In 1639, the rights of collection were obtained by the City. It was ordered by the Assembly that the Mayor and two Aldermen were to make all compositions for prise wines to the Exchequer, and that details of all wine imports were to be entered in a book of prises.(2) The City retained the right of collection until after 1800.(3) In the eighteenth century the receipts from prisage were a regular source of income to the City, and it appears that the City merchants paying this, had exemption from normal prisage, which was the taking of wines for the King's use out of every ship bringing wines into the country, at the rate of one ton for consignments of 10 to 20 tons, and two tons for consignments greater than 20 tons. This exemption was also granted to the merchants of London, the Cinque Ports, and Southampton.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the main wine imports were from Bordeaux and La Rochelle. In 1620, the quantity of French wine imported was 163 tons; in 1634

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(1) City Archives, Second Assembly Book, February 24th,1624/5.

(2) City Archives, Second Assembly Book, September 13th,1639.

(3) City Archives, Treasurer's Account Roll. 3/47. Receipts from prisage 1638 - 39 £352-10s-5d. Records of receipts from 1703 to 1834 are given in Treasurer's Account Books 2 - 10.

360 tons; and in 1641, 200 tons. The shipments of Spanish wine at that time were smaller; for example, 102 tons in 1620 and 67 tons in 1641. In the second half of the century there were interruptions to the trade, and more wine was imported from Spain and Portugal than from France. For example, in 1680 there were no shipments direct from the continent, but small quantities were received from Ireland; the Charity of Wicklow brought 7 tons of Canary wine from Waterford in June; in the same month 6 tons of Madeira wine were brought into Chester from a ship wrecked on the Welsh coast near Pwllheli. Again, in 1681, wine shipments were made from Dublin and also from the Isle of Man, four ships bringing Canary, Galician and Portuguese wine from Dublin, and two bringing Spanish and Canary wine from the Isle of Man. But in 1683, 82 tons of wine were shipped from Oporto and 9 tons from the Canary Islands. In 1699 88 tons were imported from Spain, 78 tons from Portugal, 2 tons from the Canary Islands and merely one quarter of a hogshead from France.

In the eighteenth century the wine trade was chiefly concerned with the importation of Portuguese and Spanish wines. The heavy duties on French wines imposed during the reign of King William, and maintained during the century, were a serious restraint against the shipping of Gascony wines.

Annual Imports of Wine from Portugal, Spain and France in tons.

1700 to 1769.

Year.	From Portugal.	From Spain.	From France.
1700	29	54	-
1710	56	7	-
1719	238	-	19
1729	282	335	6
1740	182	69	1
1750	175	64	-
1760	172	53	1
1769	166	42	-

There were also small shipments of Rhenish wine from Rotterdam, and Italian wine from Leghorn.

In comparison with other ports of England, Chester imported relatively small quantities of wine. Thus in 1700, the total quantity of Spanish wine imported at the outports was 2,492 tons, and the total quantity of Portuguese wines was 1,036 tons. The total importation of wine into all ports of England in 1740, was just over 15,000 tons. But small as it was in comparison with the rest of England, the wine trade was a regular feature of the City's foreign trade until the later years of the century. The table of statistics of trade at the outports presented to the House of Commons in 1803, gave consolidated returns for all wine shipments for the

period 1790 to 1802 at the outports, and clearly indicated that Chester was shipping wine at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Total Importations of Wine at Chester in Tons.
1790 to 1792; and 1799 to 1802.

Year.	Tons.
1790	231
1791	209
1792	299
1799	165
1800	61
1801	268
1802	77

The figures of wine imports in the Port Books were probably less than the total quantity actually imported, because of the large amount of smuggling along the north-west coast in the eighteenth century. The Isle of Man gained notoriety during this century as a base for the illicit distribution of contraband. To counter this, a customs frigate was specially employed to operate between Liverpool and Holyhead. Seizures of wine at Chester were not large. Between Christmas 1723 and Christmas 1732, the following seizures were made within the Port by the customs officers:(1)

(For details, please see next page).

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(1) P.R.O. T. 64. 143. 4.

Date.		Quantity seized. Tons.	Hogsheads	Gallons
17 June	1724			15
31 October	1724	1	0	35
11 November	1725			25
26 November	1725	19	2	0
22 April	1726			8
25 November	1726		1	30
17 June	1727			3
16 May	1728			30
5 May	1729	3	2	15
25 October	1729			25
1 February	1730		2	3
8 November	1732			9

In both centuries the wine trade was concentrated in the hands of a group of merchants. From 1600 to 1640, Meere Merchants shipping wine included Foulke, William and Edward Aldersey, William Barnell, Robert Berry, Richard Bird, George Bennett, William Clegg, Charles Fitton, George Fearnall, Andrew and William Gamull, Robert Harvey, William Inco, William Johnson, Humphrey Lloyd, Thomas Harvey, Lawrence Massey, Thomas Mottershead, and Thomas Throppe. Ships cargoes generally included consignments for several merchants. It was unusual when as many as ten merchants shared a ship's cargo as, for example, the 82 tons of French wine carried in the Gift of God from Bordeaux in May, 1639. In the eighteenth century the number of merchants in the wine trade was less. Those named in the Port Books included Robert Barnston, Henry and John Bennett, Isaac Badger, Joseph Dyson, Robert and Henry Hesketh, Thomas Hand, John Simpson and Joseph and Charles Snow.

2. Iron.

Chester imported iron from Bilbao and San Sebastian at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The trade was in the hands of the Meere Merchants shipping calf-skins and wine.(1) In 1621, the Mayor stated that as much as 300 tons of Spanish iron had been imported annually, but owing to the quantity of English iron "made neere unto these parts", the shipments did not then exceed 60 tons.(2) In 1641, 64 tons were imported from Spain.

At the end of the century small quantities of Swedish iron and steel were shipped direct from Scandinavia, or from the Low Countries. In the eighteenth century, there were occasional shipments from Baltic ports of Swedish and Russian iron. These annual imports from Northern Europe seldom exceeded 100 tons. Shipments of iron from New England took place, but very infrequently.

3. Miscellaneous Imports.

In the eighteenth century, Chester imported flax and hemp from the eastern Baltic ports. Individual cargoes were sometimes as much as 80 or 100 tons, but the annual total imported was exceedingly variable: Chester also shipped timber at this time from Scandinavia and Russia. This

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(1) Calendar, State Papers Domestic. 1603-10. March 4th, 1605. The merchants of Chester were allowed to pay poundage on imported iron at one half of the rate.
(2) City Archives. Reasons for the decay of trade within this port, 1621. M.1./6/155.

included deal boards, and masts, spars and oars for ships. Further quantities of ships timber and barrel staves were occasionally imported from New England. In the late seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, oak planks were shipped from the Low Countries.

During the eighteenth century a variety of fruits was shipped from Portugal, Spain and Italy. This included oranges, lemons, figs, raisins, and olives. In the early seventeenth century the Moore Merchants shipped prunes from Bordeaux. After the time of the Restoration there were occasional shipments of sugar from the West Indies and tobacco from the North American colonies.

Further attention will be given to miscellaneous imports and exports in the following discussion of the direction of total trade.

(iii)

The Direction of Total Trade.

1. France.

Trade with France was not continuous during the two centuries. In the first forty years of the seventeenth century, the Moore Merchants exported calf-skins and cloth to Bordeaux and La Rochelle, in return for wine, brandy, vinegar, prunes, walnuts, resin and paper. Some of the ships used were

French, as for example, the 24 ton Catherine of Bordeaux, which in September, 1607, carried 6 packs of Kerseys, and 840 yards of cottons for Meere Merchants, and 6 tons of wrought lead and 21 pieces of cottons and fustians for a merchant stranger. Others were larger, as for example, the 95 ton Margaret of Rouen, which brought 34 tons of French wine and 4 tons of vinegar in May 1620. A typical consignment to Bordeaux was 370 dozen tanned calf-skins, 6 packs of Kerseys, 2 barrels of beef and 2 barrels of butter in the Margaret of Queensferry, 80 tons burden, in February 1620. An unusual cargo at this time was 80 tons of coal carried to La Rochelle in a London ship of 120 tons burden.

During the second half of the century and throughout the eighteenth century the French trade was repeatedly interrupted. In the periods of peace from 1660 to 1700, occasional shipments were made, but the heavy impositions on French wine imposed during the reign of King William III, terminated the wine trade between Chester and Bordeaux. During peaceful periods in the eighteenth century, large quantities of lead were shipped to Mediterranean, Atlantic and Channel ports of France, but the permanent problem was the shortage of goods which could be shipped from France in return. Thus in 1770, twenty-five ships carried 2037 tons of lead and lead ore to Marseilles, Bordeaux, Le Havre, Rochefort and Honfleur, but

no ship returned with cargoes direct from France. Many of the ships carrying lead at this time were large. In June 1773, the Dove carried 214 tons of pig lead to Marseilles, and the Dolphin shipped 297 tons of pig lead and 17 tons of ore in the following September. It was a serious blow to the Flintshire lead industry when the exports to France were stopped.

2. Spain and Portugal.

During the period 1600 to 1640, the Meere Merchants shipped calf-skins to Bilbao, San Sebastian and Cadiz in return for iron, wool and wine. Sometimes the ships carried small quantities of wheat as well as calf-skins. The 30-ton Chester ship, the Willian Bonaventure, sailed twice to Bilbao in 1607. Sailing to Bilbao in January with 539 dozen tanned calf-skins, 25 quarters of wheat, and 8 quarters of beans, it returned in May with 15 tons of Spanish iron and 10 tons 2 cwts. of wool. Off again at the end of July with 518 dozen tanned calf-skins, 35 quarters of wheat, and 3 quarters of barley, the Bonaventure returned in November with 15 tons of iron and 4 tons of pitch. At this time there was very little trade with Portugal. In 1620, one ship brought $6\frac{1}{2}$ weys[1] of Spanish salt, and smaller quantities of sugar,

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(1) A wey was 160 stone, also 10 barrels.

ginger and cinnamon from Lisbon. The wine trade with Portugal developed in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and continued throughout the eighteenth century. The ships carried lead, small quantities of tanned calf-skins and leather, especially to Lisbon, and sometimes coal to Oporto. They returned with oranges, lemons, figs, corkwood, vinegar and shumack, (a preparation of dried and chopped leaves and shoots used in tanning, to stain leather black), as well as wine from Oporto, Vianna and Lisbon. The quantity of Spanish wine shipped from Cadiz, Malaga and Alicante was smaller than the quantity of Portuguese wine. Spain also exported brandy, vinegar, raisins, figs, olives and olive oil to Chester in the eighteenth century.

A few Chester and Parkgate ships' captains were regular traders to Spain and Portugal. For example, William Tyler of Parkgate, made three runs to Oporto in his ship Sally in 1765, and two more in 1766. In the autumn of 1766, he took over the Lord Grosvenor, and with this ship he continued to make regular voyages to Oporto and Malaga. The Port Book entry for January 1770 contained a typical cargo for the Lord Grosvenor; 64 tons of Portuguese wines, 5 tons of cork, 6 tons of shumack, 30,000 oranges and lemons, 100 bunches of onions and a bushel of chestnuts. In March, the Lord Grosvenor left for Cork with 60 chaldrons of coal, returning

in June, with 40 tons of wine. In September 1773, John Bennett, Thomas Hand, Robert Barnston, Robert Hesketh and Joseph Snow put a notice in Adams's Courant Weekly, that they had shipped 49 tons of wine in the Lord Grosvenor lately arrived from Oporto.(1) William Tyler was typical of two or three sea-captains making the regular voyage; but they were never numerous. This was enough to supply the City with wine, and the many travellers passing through, as well as to distribute in the hinterland, and to re-ship to ports along the coast of North Wales.

3. Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean.

After about 1680, lead ore, and later pig lead, were shipped from the Dee to Italy. The main receiving ports were Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Ancona and Venice. The ships also carried leather and tanned calf-skins as a small additional cargo. They returned with kid-skins and lamb-skins for the City glovers, and almonds, copperas, anchovies and small quantities of Italian wine. Some of these were large ships. One of them, the John and Thomas carrying lead and calf-skins to Leghorn in 1685, was described in the Port Books as 220 tons, burden, double decked and mounting eighteen guns. The imports from Italy were generally smaller than the exports; the whole trade was very variable, and

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(1) Adams's Courant Weekly, September 14th, 1773.

never large.

Very rarely indeed, did a Chester ship venture to ports of the Mediterranean other than the coasts of Spain, France and Italy. At times in the eighteenth century, Gibraltar handled considerable quantities of lead. In 1723, one shipment of 130 tons of lead was made to Smyrna, and a second of 107 tons in the following year, but the venture was not continued.

4. The Low Countries.

In the early seventeenth century the City did not have any quantity of trade with Holland, although Dutch ships certainly came into the River Dee, sometimes carrying away larger than average cargoes of coal to Dublin. In 1623, John Picterson of Amsterdam, exported 28 tons of malt and a bale of madder from Chester to Barnstaple in the Suum of Amsterdam. In July the same year, Garrat Symons, another merchant of Amsterdam, who had brought into the Port a ship laden with malt, died in the City and was buried in Holy Trinity Church.(1)

After 1680 the important trade in lead developed, especially to Rotterdam and Middelburg. Smaller quantities were also shipped to Amsterdam, Bruges, Ghent and Ostend. Imports into Chester from the Low Countries were smaller than the exports. Some ships returned with linen made in Holland and Germany, wainscot boards, oak planks, Rhenish wine, paper,

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(1) L.M. Farrall (edit) Parish Register of Holy Trinity, 1532 - 1837. Chester, 1914. p.88.

madder and earthenware. The total volume of trade declined after about 1730.

5. Baltic and Scandinavian Trade.

In the early seventeenth century shipments from Chester to Baltic ports were extremely rare. In May 1620, William and Andrew Gamull shipped a cargo of tanned calf-skins to Danzig in the Providence; the ship returning in the following September with flax, spruce balks, pitch, steel and kegs of sturgeon. In 1621, the Mayor stated that the monopoly of the Eastland Company of London had prevented the Chester merchants from developing this trade.(1)

After 1695, Chester received important supplies of iron, timber, hemp and flax from the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, but unfortunately there was little to ship out in exchange. The market for lead in Northern Europe was not great, and shipments were only occasionally made to Gothenburg, Longsound, Copenhagen, Stockholm and St.Petersburg. Chester was also unable to ship large quantities of salt to Norway, which Liverpool was accustomed to do. Between 1710 and 1720 there were occasional shipments of white, refined salt from Chester to Bergen, which was at that time, receiving very large quantities from Liverpool. Some of the ships trading with the Low Countries, used to proceed from there

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(1) City Archives. M.L. 6. 155.

to Baltic and Scandinavian ports, from whence they shipped a cargo back to Chester. A charter-party of "affraightment" of March 1752, now in the City Archives, contained the terms drawn up between Thomas Prescott and Joseph Dean, Master of the Elizabeth and Rebecca, 120 tons, burden, then lying at Liverpool, for a voyage to Rotterdam and St. Petersburg.(1) The ship was to sail with the first wind after April 15th to Rotterdam, and there discharge cargo, the details of which were not specified; then to proceed to St. Petersburg to load 50 to 60 tons of iron, flax, hemp, codilla(2) (not to exceed 6 tons) and hare skins, up to a total of 70 tons exclusive of the iron. The ship was to return direct to Chester, commencing July 1st, and there to discharge her cargo within fifteen days of her arrival. In case it was necessary to ease the ship at Parkgate, Thomas Prescott agreed to take out of the ship, one sloop load of his cargo at Parkgate, or Dawpool. As an additional consequence of the shortage of suitable exports, many of the shipments from Scandinavian and Baltic ports, were made in foreign ships, a number of which were listed in the Register kept by the River Dee Company, 1740 to 1769.

The imports included iron from Russia, Siberia and Sweden, timber from Russia, Sweden and Norway, flax and hemp

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(1) City Archives, C/MC. 62-63.
(2) Codilla - an inferior quality of hemp or flax.

from Russia, and in some years, especially in the 1720's, corn from Danzig. The timber consisted of ships' masts and spars, and spruce and deals for building work and joinery. In addition, there were imports of pitch, tar, and occasionally, linen from Russia. For example, in 1725, the Skrimer and Jenkins of London, a ship frequently engaged in the cheese trade between London and Chester, brought from St. Petersburg, 15,000 ells of narrow linen, 12 tons of flax, 30 tons of iron, and 40 tons of hemp. Many of the shipments exceeded 100 tons, as, for example, the cargo of the Patience, from St. Petersburg, in November 1772, which included 51 tons of iron, 50 tons of rough hemp, 5 tons of tow, 36 tons of tallow, 30 tons of undressed flax, 12 oars and 6 spars.

The shipments, which seldom exceeded six in one year, were made from Christiania, Gothenburg, Stockholm, Narva, St. Petersburg, Memell, Konigsberg, Danzig and Copenhagen. City merchants engaged in this trade, included George and Thomas Prescott, Henry Perkins, William Farrington, Charles Woollam, and John Chamberlaine. Much of the imported material was auctioned at the warehouses by the Crane, or near the Bridge. Thus, for example, John Chamberlaine advertised in December 1769, that he was going to auction Swedish and Siberian iron, Danzig hemp and linen rolls,

thon unlonding at his warehouse near the Bridge.(1)

6, The Colonial Trade,

The colonial trade can be divided into two aspects; the African trade, and the American and West Indian Trade.

Chester's interest in the African trade began temporarily about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1750, 1752 and 1753, one ship of 90 tons, burden, cleared from the Port for Africa. Liverpool had had 18 ships of 1335 tons burden, in the African trade in 1734, and 61 ships of 5523 tons, in 1754.(2) The occasional ships ;leaving the Dee for Africa took small cargoes, generally a quantity of lead shot. Not being heavily laden, they may have been intended for participation in the slave trade. At any rate, ships made at Chester were suitable for this, having adequate room between decks. The fact that Liverpool in 1748, had ships capable of carrying over £3,000 slaves, and making considerable profit for their owners, must have been a powerful inducement to Chester merchants, but apparently it was not very effective in stimulating them to action.(3) On August 14th, 1775, the Chester Chronicle' contained the following observation on recent maritime trade:

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(1) Adams's Courant Weekly, December 5th, 1769.
(2) P.R.O. T.64. 276 A/273.
(3) P.R.O. T.70. 1505. A. 21.

"On Saturday last, this City began to show an agreeable prospect of the extension of its commerce. About 11 in the morning, the Juno, Captain Eagles, sailed for Africa, and saluted with 9 guns; and the Adventurer, Captain Smallwood, sailed at the same time for Newfoundland and saluted with 7, together with the Diligence, Captain Massey, for London, and several coasters."

If not taking part in the slave trade, the merchants of Chester were at a disadvantage in competing with Liverpool ships in the trade with the West Indies, and southern colonies on the North American seaboard. With an outgoing cargo of slaves, the Liverpool ships could return from the colonies laden with sugar, timber and tobacco. But the City did manage to have an occasional ship bringing sugar from the West Indies and tobacco from Virginia. As early as the 1660's the City had been interested in the American Plantations. In 1666, Chester, together with Plymouth, Lyme, Dartmouth, Weymouth, Barnstaple, Topsham, Liverpool, Hull and Newcastle, had been allowed to send one ship to the Carribbean Islands, Jamaica or any other of the Plantations, as soon as the navy was manned. (Milford Haven was allowed to send two.)[1] We have, however, already mentioned the Collector's comment on

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(1) Acts of Privy Council (Colonial) 1613 - 80, vol. 1. p.413.

the lack of shipping to the Plantations from Chester in 1667. In 1680, two ships entered the Port from the West Indies; one from Nevis with hides and muscovado sugar;[1] the other from Barbados with muscovado sugar, ginger and lignum vitae. In 1692, the City was officially reported as having three ships trading with the Plantations; Lancaster had four, Whitehaven six, Liverpool fourteen, Plymouth twenty-one, and Bristol fifty-five.[2] In the 1690's and afterwards there were often two shipments in the year, of tobacco from Virginia, and more rarely, cargoes of sugar from the West Indies. Thus in the Michaelmas Quarter of 1700, the Ruby and Dolphin brought tobacco from Virginia, and the Friendship brought muscovado sugar and logwood from Jamaica. A problem, most certainly, was to find adequate outgoing cargoes. A typical cargo to Virginia was, for example, 242 bushels of white salt, 17 cwts. of nails, 3 cwts. of lead, 3½ dozen old wool cards, one half-chest of window glass, and 200 pieces of earthenware shipped in the Salisbury in 1706. The Dolphin, later that year, shipped small quantities of linen, leather goods, nails, tobacco pipes, salt and earthenware, also to Virginia.

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(1) Muscovado sugar:- raw or unrefined sugar, obtained from the juice of sugar cane by evaporation and draining off the molasses.

(2) Acts of Privy Council (Colonial), 1680 - 1720, vol. 2, p. 228.

Chester's occasional shipments were much less numerous than those of Lancaster and Whitehaven, as well as those of Liverpool, in the 1720's.

The number of Ships with their Tonnage, entered in the ports of Chester, Liverpool, Lancaster and Whitehaven, from the Sugar Colonies, Christmas, 1720 to Christmas 1730.(1)

	Chester		Liverpool		Lancaster		Whitehaven	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1721	1	60	21	1300	3	190	3	245
1722	1	60	29	1996	3	172	3	144
1723	-	-	33	2000	2	120	3	174
1724	-	-	33	2105	5	240	2	157
1725	2	120	41	2505	9	480	3	198
1726	1	70	33	2065	3	185	-	-
1727	-	-	29	1595	2	115	1	60
1728	-	-	42	2443	6	360	1	60
1729	-	-	39	2270	6	323	3	205
1730	-	-	62	3781	7	405	2	130

A similar account for ships entering the outports from the Northern Colonies, has no entry from Chester, Whitehaven having about fifteen ships and Lancaster, one or two.(2) In the 1750's one or more ships sailed in some years, from the Dee to South Carolina, sometimes carrying outwards, a cargo of coal, and generally returning with rice or turpentine, pitch and tar. One of these ships was the Goodwin, 200 tons burden of which John Lashley was the Master. He had previously been a regular voyager to St. Petersburg, Riga, Narva and Rotterdam. Later he sailed frequently to Malaga

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(1) P.R.O. T 64. 276 A. 271.
(2) P.R.O. T.64. 276 A. 272.

and Lisbon for wine, and also took part in the coasting trade between Chester and London. In September 1758, the Goodwin was loaded in the Dee for Carolina, partly with cloth, and partly with goods brought in lighters from Liverpool, for which river tonnage dues of £3-15s. had to be paid to the Dee Company. In 1761, Lashley shipped one ton of lead shot and 30 chaldrons of coal to Carolina.(1)

A few years later there was a development of trade with Newfoundland and New England, by the Chester merchant, John Rogers. A typical incoming cargo of John Rogers' Company was that of the William, arriving in Chester from Boston, in October 1770, with 25 tons of cod liver oil, whale oil and Sperma ceti oil,(2) 20 tons of pig iron, 5 tons of bar iron, 188 loads of oak planks, 5140 pipe staves, 15,000 barrel staves, 70 boat oars, 226 deal planks, and 25 spars suitable for masts. The vessel had sailed in the preceding March, with 32 chaldrons of coal for Newfoundland, having abortively set out with a similar cargo in January; but the William had upset when proceeding down the river. In December 1769, The William brought from

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(1) In 1758 and 1759 there were shipments of coal to South Carolina of 30 chaldrons each. E.190.1431/1 and 1432/10.

(2) Sperma ceti; a fatty substance found in the head of the sperm whale.

Nowfoundland 20 tons of train oil, 256 cwts. of codfish, one cask of cod's tongues, 13000 hogshead and barrel staves, 16 cwts. of deals, 84 bundles of wood hops for coopers, 24 otter skins, 4 fox skins, 9 cat skins, 4 beaver skins and 1 box containing 226 lbs. of Sperma ceti candles. Part of this cargo of December 1769, was advertised for sale in Adams's Courant Weekly. John Rogers' Company was also engaged in the Mediterranean trade.(1) In 1774, the Nimrod, which had shipped coal to Newfoundland, returned with fish, part of which was shipped to Barcelona on behalf of the Company. The Nimrod returned with raisins, barrilla,(2) corkwood and nuts from Alicante. John Rogers also advertised the sale of raisins, olive oil and Spanish wine, shipped from Malaga in the Betsey, of which William Rogers was Mastor.(3) Many of the ships used in this trans-Atlantic trade were Chester built, and new ships were often described in the 1770's as being suitable for the Newfoundland trade. But this trans-Atlantic trade by John Rogers and Company, was a small venture in comparison with the contemporary North American trade of Liverpool.

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(1) Adams's Courant Weekly, December 5th, 1769.

(2) Barilla; an impure alkali produced by burning dried barilla, a plant which grows in Spain, Sicily and the Canary Islands; and used in glass making.

(3) Adams's Courant Weekly, June 18th, 1771.

CHAPTER 7.

Trade with Ireland; 1600 to 1800.

Chester was a gateway to Ireland. This is reiterated time after time by seventeenth and eighteenth century writers describing the City. Placed directly opposite Dublin, the largest economic and population centre in the whole of Ireland, Chester benefited from its good road across the Midlands to London. Liverpool, and more especially Holyhead, were relatively isolated. When roads to Holyhead were improved, Chester's position was unsatisfactory and its decline was inevitable. However, that was not to take place until the close of the eighteenth century. For nearly two hundred years after 1600, trade with Ireland was the established and most important element in the City's overseas trade, although it fluctuated in volume. There were years of great activity and prosperity, some episodes of violent upset and turmoil, and periods of stagnation and apparent decay. The history of the trade throughout the two centuries forms itself into seven phases:

1. 1600 to 1605. The century opened with war in Ireland and an expedition to Lough Foyle. Chester was the military supply base.

2. 1605 to 1640. A period of generally expanding trade with a temporary recession in the 'twenties. Trade in the 'thirties benefited from the vigorous action of Thomas Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland, in putting down the pirates who had been operating in the Irish Sea.

3. 1641 to 1650. This was a period of violent upset to trade, beginning with the Great Rebellion, or Massacre, in 1641.(1) The Civil War in England was followed by the Cromwellian settlement in Ireland. "At the conclusion of the Cromwellian Wars Ireland was little better than a wilderness."(2)

4. 1650 to 1680. This was a period of rapid recovery of trade, culminating in Chester acquiring a larger share in the Irish trade than any other port on the west coast of England and Wales. The Irish Cattle trade was very important during this period.

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(1) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1641-43, p.291.

(2) A.E. Murray, A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland from the Period of the Restoration, 1903, p.16.

5. 1681 to 1735. This was a period of declining trade, in particular, relative to Liverpool. The effects of Government controls and restrictions were most marked, especially the ban on shipment of live cattle from Ireland. The dislocation of trade during the Revolution Settlement of 1689-91 was only temporary.

6. 1735 to 1775. This period began with the reconstruction of the waterway, and the building of the New Channel, which failed to give the City a greater share in the Irish trade. The period was notable for the large imports of Irish linen cloth, which reached their maximum in the 'seventies.

7. 1775 to 1820. This was the period of final decay. The passenger packet service to Dublin was lost to Liverpool and Holyhead. The linen trade was absorbed by Liverpool.

(i)

Military Base for the Irish Campaigns.[1]

The rising of Hugh O'Neill in Ulster in 1598, and the

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(1) The Acts of the Privy Council and the State Papers, Ireland provide a wealth of information about Chester's military function 1600 to 1603.

crushing defeat he inflicted upon the English at the Battle of Yellowford, was followed by rebellion among the Munster Irish. The Earl of Essex was sent over with a large force in April 1599, to put down the revolt. A good soldier, if a rather temperamental one, he failed miserably and returned to England in the following September. He was succeeded by Lord Mountjoy, an exceedingly capable general. Chester and Bristol were the supply bases for Mountjoy's campaign.

Chester was well placed for the supply of Ulster. It was well served by roads from London, York and Bristol. The London road at that time was suitable for fast traffic. For example, in November 1601, a letter from Dublin was carried in 40 hours from Chester to Barnet, 12 miles from London.(1) Liverpool was relatively inaccessible, and Holyhead even more so. Impatient travellers who left their heavy baggage in Chester and continued to Holyhead on horse-back via Flint, Conway and Beaumaris, had to be prepared to endure difficulties. First, the sands of Dee below the City, had to be crossed at low tide to reach Flint. Then a guide was necessary to lead the way across the moorlands flanking Moel Fammau, and again between the Vale of Clwyd and the Vale of Conway. Once across the River Conway, the travellers

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(1) Calendar, State Papers Ireland, 1601 - 1603. p.163.

could either follow the shore at low tide, in order to go round the headlands between Conway and Penmaenmawr, or cross the Sychnant Pass, which was very steep on the west side. Both routes brought them to Aber, whence they could cross the Lavan Sands at low tide, ford the shallow entrance to Menai Straits, and arrive in Beaumaris in readiness for the final stage of the journey across Anglesey. This route was used in 1566 by Sir Henry Sidney, on appointment as Governor of Ireland. On November 24th, he arrived in Chester. On December 3rd he was at Hilbre, but there was "no wind for Ireland", and he wrote that he was "never so weary of any place" and could get neither food nor good lodgings. He proceeded to Beaumaris (December 17th.) where some barks put to sea. One of them, containing his furniture, valued at £500, was lost. After reaching Holyhead on January 9th, he finally arrived in Dublin on the 21st, having taken nearly two months over the journey.(1)

Arrangements for official post services were temporarily established in Holyhead as early as 1579, but because of the difficulties of land communication they were only re-established when the state of affairs in Ireland was sufficiently pressing to demand urgent government attention. During the quiet periods the "post" of Chester despatched the Queen's

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(1) The Cheshire Sheaf. Old Series, vol. 1. 1880 p.48.

packets by sea from Chester and carried to court any packets reaching him from Ireland. In February 1599, posts were established "between the Court and Holiheade and by way of Bristol towards Ireland." These proved to be permanent.(1) The levies for the Ulster campaigns, which were raised in North Wales, were embarked, however, from Chester and not from Holyhead.

We know about events in Chester because the Mayor was in frequent, direct communication with the Privy Council. His duties were sixfold; he had to provide shipping to convey the troops to Ireland, (to do this he impressed all vessels entering the Dee), to feed the troops while waiting, to provide them with suits of apparel, to maintain law and order (sometimes a very difficult task), to provide food for the troops on the voyage, and finally, to organise further supplies of food, drink, stores and ammunition for the troops when in Ireland.

In January 1600, eight hundred soldiers were ordered to be embarked at Chester for Dublin, and twelve hundred at Bristol for Dublin and Cork.(2) The Mayor was ordered to stay all shipping until this force was embarked. He notified the Privy Council of his anxiety because of the shortage of

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(1) Fully discussed in H.R. Davies, The Conway and the Menai Ferries, Cardiff, 1942. p 92.

(2) Acts of Privy Council, vol.30. 1599 - 1600 p.5.

shipping, so many barks having already crossed to Ireland with supplies. He had to provide victuals, taking note of the quantity, and ensuring that they were "sweete and good and the just quantytie and proportion" for which he received sixpence per day per man.(1) When inquiring whether he should ship six hundred quarters of oats in bags or in bulk, he was enigmatically told he was to see that coarse sacks were provided but he must "putt her Majestie to as lytle expences as may be."(2) And he had to watch out for desertors. Men without passports were to be put straightaway in gaol and await trial, those with passports were to be returned promptly to Ireland, unless sick or maimed.(3) The recruits from Wales were troublesome and of poor quality. Many of the troops were disorderly, but the firmness of the Mayor was noted and complimented by the Privy Council.(4)

The embarkation of this eight hundred men took place in February 1600, when the Mayor was notified that he must prepare for three thousand men and two hundred cavalry. This force was to be commanded by Sir Henry Docwra and transported

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(1) Acts of Privy Council, vol. 30 1599 - 1600 p.14. The victuals would be checked by the Commissary of Victualles.

(2) ibid., pp. 40 - 41, 59.

(3) ibid,, pp. 56 - 57.

(4) ibid, p.90.

to Lough Foyle. Sir Henry was ordered to proceed to Chester by the end of the month to "see theis menn upon their arrivall bestowed in the towne(s) of Chester and Liverpoole and conteyned in good order untill the weather shall serve for their embarquing". The Mayor would assist him in checking their numbers against the muster-rolls and be responsible for feeding them with two meals a day, equipping them with apparel, and collecting transportation. He was warned that Lough Foyle was "a place unhabyted and desolate."(1)

Again the duties of the Mayor were onerous. Soon the Lord Treasurer was demanding a full statement of all expenses incurred, and the Privy Council did not hesitate to point out to him the shortcomings of his book-keeping; "And although your accompt be imperfect, yet we have caused the sommes mentioned in the schedule -- to be cast up, which amount to a larger proporcion than wee hope you shall have occacion to issue there for this present service We require you therefore -- so soon as you can, to see us a perfect accompt of all the disboursements you have made."(2) Disorders broke out among the troops. The Privy Council encouraged the Mayor to be firm saying in a letter dated March 10th, 1600, "We note and commaund the discreete care used

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(1) Acts of Privy Council, vol.30 1599-1600 p 102

(2) ibid., p.145.

by you and the rest of the Commissioners to bryng the troops back by force and to commytte to pryson the ringleaders of this disordered crew."(1) Further reinforcements were to be drawn quickly from Lancashire and Staffordshire. Bad weather and lack of ships delayed embarkation. To obtain shipping the Mayor was to offer up to eight shillings per man for the cost of transport. This would be chargeable to his account and not Docwra's. Docwra was told to spend the time training his men and authorised to request as much powder as he thought fit from the Mayor who should "put the same upon his accompts, which shalbe allowed unto him."(2) The troops continued to be highly restive. On April 22nd, the Privy Council learned that "there hath happened so extreme disorders among the soldiers at Chester as they have daily with great violence broken from their captaines not so soldome as twice or thrice after imprisonment and forgiveness."(3) On the same day the troops sailed. A description of the voyage was given by Captain Humphry Willis;

"The discourse of our journey to Lough Foyle from Chester, 22 April 1600.

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(1) Acts of Privy Council, vol.30 1599-1600, p.155.

(2) ibid. pp. 213.243.

(3) ibid. p.263.

"We shipped at Neston, Hilbree, Liverpool, and other adjoining harbours, the 22nd of April, with a fair wind, east north east."

"The 24th at 12 of the clock at noon the wind came up well at east, and we fell down and anchored at Hilbree; to gather the rest of our fleet. The wind continued well all night until the 25th at 11 o'clock. Then when we had weighed anchor it fell to the west till three, then came about again with a great shower to east south east and we set sail."

"Night of 27th. 9 p.m. arrived at Carrickfergus."(1)

Ships mentioned in the fleet to Lough Foyle were the "Swartrutter" of Delft in Holland, the "Susan", the "Margarite of the Poele of Fowdre", the "Ellen" of Liverpool, the "Curtelage" of Chester, the "Peter" of Drogheda, the "Angel" of Hilbree, the "Honey" of Drogheda and the "Peter" and "Elizabeth" of Dublin.(2)

The Mayor had to continue supplying victuals and stores to the troops at Lough Foyle, where supplies could not be obtained on the spot. In May, Docwra wrote from Derry that many merchants from Scotland, Chester, Bristol, London and Dublin had offered to bring supplies to the garrison but all he had received was 200 tons of beer from a Chester merchant. When requested in June to supply fourteen days' victuals for

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(1) Calendar, State Papers, Ireland, 1600, p.200.
(2) ibid., p.208.

the army at Lough Foyle, the Mayor had to state that this could not be done except at very high prices owing to the scarcity of provisions in Chester. There was also a complaint that the Irish were buying munitions in the City, as well as in London and Bristol. At that time 44 teams of horses or oxens were requested to carry "great quantities of munitions" to Chester.(1) In September the Mayor was informed that four of these carts had been delayed at Stony Stratford and Daventry, in the latter town for twenty days.(2) In December six hundred quarters of corn were shipped from Chester to the troops in Ireland.(3) The City mills were very useful to the Commissariat at this time.

In June, the Mayor had to prepare for the arrival of two thousand troops to be embarked on July 25th. The troops were assembled from many parts of England. London and York each supplied two hundred; Somerset, Wiltshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lancashire, Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire, one hundred; Shropshire, Hereford, Wigan, Gloucestershire, Dorsetshire, Southampton, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Kent

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(1) Acts of Privy Council, vol.30, p.431.
(2) ibid., p.643.
(3) ibid., p.794.

and Sussex, fifty.[1] The Privy Council warned the Mayor to stay all shipping for the embarkation and asked the Mayor of Liverpool to do the same. The Lord Deputy of Ireland was requested to send back all ships of Chester or Wales at that time in Dublin harbour; otherwise it was feared there would be insufficient shipping to carry the troops into Ireland. When the Mayor of Chester sought advice from the Privy Council over the Elizabeth of London "being laden with lead", he was told he could forbear using that ship in order to prevent loss to the merchants, if there was enough other shipping.[2]

On July 29th, Sir Geoffery Fenton in command reported to Sir Robert Cecil that he had arranged for stores to be shipped and had reviewed the troops finding that there were two hundred men missing. He confirmed that he had found in the river at Chester and at Liverpool enough barks to carry all the troops. He planned going ahead to Holyhead, leaving "the whole of the troops quartered in Worrall, near their shipping, and ready to embark at the first favourable wind."[3]

In August and September more troops followed into Chester. Those included eight hundred men from Wales and

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(1) Acts of Privy Council, vol.30. p.416.
(2) ibid., p.499.
(3) Calendar, State Papers Ireland, 1600 p.333, pp.339-40.

two hundred from London.(1) There were many desertions. Houses in the City were searched for deserters, refugees from Ireland, and idle and suspect persons; and men were impressed for the army. The Mayor reported to the Privy Council on September 25th, that a muster of the soldiers ready to embark for Lough Foyle had produced very few above six hundred through sickness and runaways. At the preceding muster they had had seven hundred and fifty-four.(2) In December six hundred more troops were ordered to be shipped from Chester, two hundred from Bristol, and one hundred and fifty from Barnstaple.(3)

The ships carrying the troops assembled at Hilbre or Hoylake. Some had taken their men aboard at Chester or Neston, some in the Mersey, and most of them directly at Hilbre. The practice was to quarter the troops in Wirral where convenient. There was friction between Liverpool and Chester over the use of the Hoyle Lake. The grievance of the Mayor and citizens of Liverpool was officially communicated to the Mayor of Chester by the Privy Council in 1602:

"The Mayor and inhabitants of the port towne of Liverpool find themselves agreeved that they doe send

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(1) Acts of Privy Council, vol. 30. 1599 - 1600, p.567
(2) Calendar, State Papers, Ireland, 1600, p.444.
(3) Acts of Privy Council vol.30. 1599 - 1600 p.790.

their shippinge at your direction to Helbree, when their port as they saie is more convenient to shippe those men that are to be transported in their shipps. Forasmuch as heretofore we have been importuned with lyke complaint, we have ordered that you shall send some of your citie hither the next tearme instructed in those reasons w'h you cann deliver for the continewinge of the accustomed order that hath bene held to direct all the souldiers to be ymbarqued at that porte."(1)

The Mayor of Chester firmly told the Privy Council that the sending of troops to Liverpool would be more expensive, there would be more desertions, and this was the long established procedure, Liverpool being but a creek of the Port of Chester.(2)

In 1601, more troops were sent to Ireland but in the latter part of the year reinforcements were required more for Munster in the south than for Lough Foyle. In August, 830 troops were assembled in Chester and transported to Cork at the beginning of September. 270 were embarked from Barnstaple, and 895 from Bristol at about this time.(3)

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(1) and (2) Discussed fully in C. Northcote Parkinson, The Rise of the Port of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1952. p.34.

(3) - Acts of Privy Council, vol. 32., 1601 - 1604, pp. 71, 83.

In October, 700 infantry men and 76 cavalry were embarked at Chester for Lough Foyle, and 300 men for Knockfergus. Munster at that time received 975 men from Barnstaple, 1025 from Bristol, and 2000 from Rochester.(1) In January, 1602, Chester was to embark 655 men for Munster, Bristol 835, and Southampton 835. The shift in military emphasis to southern Ireland occasioned larger shipments of troops from the southern ports.(2)

There were, however, the usual harassments for the Mayor during these later troop movements; shortage of shipping; delays in embarkation through bad weather; lack of discipline among the troops and numerous desertions; loss of arms and equipment to the citizens; purchases in the City of stores and arms by the Irish rebels; and demands for more supplies to feed and equip the troops already in Ulster and the South.

Life in the City was upset by the troops who were often disorderly, but there was a very definite rise in prosperity. The Dee Mills were in full employ grinding corn, but the price of corn was high, due, it was said, to the excessive number of maltsters in the City and their practice of

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(1) Acts of Privy Council, vol.32, 1601 - 1604, p.241.
(2) ibid, p.475. The Mayor provided victuals and transport for the movement to Cork.

engrossing large quantities of malt into their own hands.(1) The Mayor had to purchase hay and oats for the horses while on board ship, victuals for the men and materials for the campaigns. In June 1601 it was decided to establish in Chester storehouses for the Plantations in Ulster.(2) Foodstuffs and stores shipped to the garrison at Lough Foyle in 1601 included wheat, oats, beer, cheese, Newfoundland fish, oak boards, wooden sheds, nails, pitch, tar, spades, pickaxes, shovels, coal and lead.(3)

To facilitate payments four exchanges were set up in Ireland and three in England, (at Chester, Bristol and London). The purpose of the English exchanges was to issue cash on

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(1) Acts of Privy Council, vol.31, 1600 - 1601, p.24.

(2) ibid., p.418.

(3) Typical shipments to Lough Foyle were: June 21st, 4 lasts of powder, 20,000 eightpenny nails, 5 barrels pitch, 5 barrels tar, 10 pairs weights, scales and door hinges, 10 locks, 10 ton sea coal, 200 spades "to be made specially good and strong" and "all manner of smith's tools for one forge."

On July 12th, 1500 spades and shovels.

On August 10th, the George of Chester arrived in Lough Foyle with 96 barrels of powder (10 lbs. deficient), 57 barrels lead in sows, 98 iron shod spades, 10 dozen match and much other match which "was rotten or wet."

Acts of Privy Council, vol. 31, 1600 - 1601, pp. 446, 448; vol. 32, 1601 - 1604, p.46; Calendar, State Papers Ireland. 1601 - 1603, p.25.

receipt of bills of exchange given by those in Ireland. On June 1st, 1602, the amounts due at the Exchanges in London, Bristol, and Chester on bills of exchange sent from the exchanges in Ireland were: £12147 at London, £3700 at Chester and £3200 at Bristol. On October 31st, the amounts were £38,162 at London, £8,349 at Chester and £11,600 at Bristol. In November, it was reported to the Privy Council that the merchants of Chester and Bristol had been greatly encouraged to trade on the exchanges; "In the last year the Exchange at Bristol and Chester has devoured £45,000; which has been paid wholly to those merchants, except £8000 which has been paid to the Army." But £16,300 was still owed to the merchants for beer, corn and victuals, and merchandise which had been carried over.(1)

Except for those at London and Dublin, the exchanges were closed in January 1603 because of the abuses committed by the merchants. A bank was to be retained at Cork, and for the convenience of soldiers and passengers exchanges to deal with bills not exceeding £4 in value were to be maintained at Chester and Bristol. There were strong protests from the merchants of Chester, Wales and Lancashire. They would have to seek payment for their bills of exchange in London. Many said they would rather give up the Irish trade than go so

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(1) Calendar, State Papers Ireland, 1601 - 1603, p.400. 506.

far for exchange. They protested to the Privy Council and requested a full exchange to be set up in Chester. This was not granted.(1)

In spite of the greater military importance of Munster and the larger troop movements from the southern ports, the embarkation of troops to Dublin and Ulster continued to take place at Chester for many years. In July 1608, 700 men were embarked for Dublin. These had been assembled from London, the Midlands and the south-eastern counties. The Mayor added this note to his official report of the numbers embarked: "Notwithstanding every effort to keep them together and to prevent the soldiers running away, yet of the whole seven hundred, thirty-seven have run away and made their escape during their stay here."(2) In August 1616, a company from Caernarvon mutinied and refused to go on board. In 1624 reinforcements to Dublin embarked at Chester, to Waterford at Milford, Barnstaple and Bristol, and to Knockfergus at Workington.(3)

During these years pirates were very troublesome in the Irish Sea. When captured, the pirates were sent for trial to Barnstaple, Bristol or Chester. Thus, for example, the pirate Jennings, apprehended off the Irish coast, was

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(1) Calendar, State Papers, Ireland, 1601 -1603, pp.561,564.
(2) Calendar, State Papers, Ireland, 1606 - 1608, p.610.
(3) Calendar State Papers, Ireland, 1615 - 1625, p.514.

sent by ship to Chester in April 1609 to await trial. In July 1610, Coward and Barrett, taken off the coast of Connaught by a Dutchman, were handed over to the custody of the Mayor of Chester.(1) During October 1616, the Lord Deputy of Ireland reported a pirate between Holyhead and Dublin which took a bark of Chester laden with goods being shipped by Dublin merchants from Chester fair. The pirate was chased by one of His Majesty's pinnaces and forced to leave its prize. The Lord Deputy considered that the pirates had many relievers in remote havens.(2) In January, 1627, Captain Edward Jones of the Chester ship Neptune, was authorised to carry guns and take pirates. The pirates were finally driven from the Irish Sea in the 'thirties by the vigorous action of Lord Strafford.

In October 1641, Chester was crowded with refugees from Ireland. The Great Rebellion had begun and the massacre of Protestants put many Anglo-Irish to flight. A letter of the Mayor to the Earl of Leicester, Lieutenant-General of Ireland, described the sufferings of the citizens, provisions being scarce and expensive, owing to the large numbers of troops quartered there, the influx of seven hundred English refugees from Ireland, and many hundreds of distressed Irish

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(1) Calendar State Papers, Ireland, 1606 - 1608, pp.106, 200, 486.
(2) Calendar, State Papers, Ireland, 1615 - 1625, p.139.

of whom more arrived daily. He asked that further troops to be embarked, should be billeted in the country, or in Liverpool.(1) At the beginning of 1642, fifteen hundred infantrymen were sent from Chester to Ireland.(2)

The onset of the Civil War delayed the pacification of Ireland. In September 1646, magazines were prepared in Bristol, Minehead, Chester and Liverpool.(3) Once more troops were brought to Chester, from the Midlands, London and the south-eastern counties for transportation to Ireland. Commissioners were appointed to organise the flow of supplies. The Mayor was not imposed upon so heavily as his predecessors had been forty years before, but the troops caused much trouble. Part of Cromwell's army sailed from Neston in 1646 and prior to embarking they were encamped in the neighbourhood for some weeks, during which time they ravaged the country far and wide to the great distress of the people.(4)

The massacre of the garrisons at Drogheda and Wexford, the capture of Clonmel, Athlone, Limerick, and Galway, and the elimination of one third of the Irish population by the sword, by plague, or by famine, prepared the way for the

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(1) Hist. Manus. Commission, Third Report, p.349 et seq.
(2) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1641 - 43, p.288.
(3) Calendar, State Papers Ireland, 1633 - 47. p.506.
(4) W. Bidlake, Neston Church and Parish, Birkenhead, 1936, p.31.

complete pacification of Ireland. The Cromwellian settlement reduced the need for Chester to be used as a trooping depot but not immediately. In 1650 Captain Whitworth was appointed to be employed as Commissary at Chester and Liverpool and to muster all regiments to be embarked for Ireland.(1) Stores for the troops in Ireland were shipped from both ports. Quantities of Cheshire cheese were often shipped; for example, 50 tons in December 1652, and the same quantity in March, 1653.(2) Warships occasionally called at Chester for temporary repairs; as for example, the Primrose in January 1653, which required new tackle and cables, so that all the few ropemakers at Chester had to be set to work to make small cordage.(3)

With the years, Chester's military importance dwindled but it was suddenly, if temporarily, revived in 1689 when Ireland had to be made secure for King William. In 1690, the King's army under the Duke of Schomberg sailed from Hoylake. The troops numbered some 20,000 and most of them embarked in some 280 to 300 vessels at Hoylake during April, May and July, having been temporarily quartered in Wirral and Liverpool. An eye-witness account of part of the

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(1) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1650 p.139.
(2) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1652 - 55, pp.483.489.
(3) ibid., p.511.

proceedings was written by the Reverend Rowland Davies who sailed with the troops as chaplain in May. Extracts from his diary are interesting, as to the procedure of embarkation.

Saturday 26th April. (Chester) We dined at our lodgings and after dinner they all grew very busy in sending away their things to Hoylake, where lay our recruits of horse being four hundred, and the Nassau and Brandenburg regiments.

Saturday 3rd May. In the afternoon, I put my trunks, bed, saddle, and hat case on board Mr.Thomson's boat and sent them to Hoylake.

Tuesday 6th May. In the morning we took horse for Hoylake, and passing by Neston, we came there about one o'clock.

Wednesday 7th May. About nine o'clock came on board, and at eleven o'clock shipped our horses -- the Major and I walked a few miles on the strand, and went unto two islands in the bay, and then came aboard

Thursday 8th May --- came down to the road's mouth where we lay at anchor all night.

Friday 9th May. In the morning we set sail, the wind being E.N.E. and steered N.W. by N; we had but

little wind, and got not out of sight of Wales all day.(1)

King William arrived in Chester on June 7th, having left London three days before, journeying via Tring and Northampton. He attended service in the Cathedral on Sunday, June 8th, and resided in Gayton, near Heswall, until embarking at Hoylake on the 11th. He was escorted by a naval squadron under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovell.(2)

This was the last time Hoylake and Chester Water were used for a major movement of troops to Ireland. Smaller forces were often sent to Ireland from Chester for many years to come. In 1719, for example, a small unit of cavalry with two hundred horses were embarked, and in 1742, four regiments returned from Dublin this way. With Ireland pacified, there was no need for Chester to be actively used.

(ii)

The Passenger Packet Service.

The passenger packet service from Chester to Dublin remained active until the early years of the nineteenth

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(1) Diary of Rev. R. Davies, edited by R. Caulfield, 1857, extracts in Rev. A. Hume, op.cit. Trans.Hist.Soc. Soc. Lancs. and Ches. vol. XI.1859, p.227.

(2) N. Luttrell, A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from Sept,1678 to April 1714,London.1857.pp 53,55,59,61.

century in spite of the deterioration of the estuary and competition from Holyhead and Liverpool. The volume of the passenger traffic was considerable until the late eighteenth century and the City was often full of travellers who brought good trade to the shopkeepers. In the seventeenth century passengers for Ireland embarked from near the New Quay at Neston. They usually stayed at inns in the City while waiting for a boat, there being no accommodation at the outport. They proceeded to Neston by coach or on horse, their heavy baggage going independently in small boats down river to Neston. Sometimes passengers would embark at the Watergate on the ships which had managed to come up river on the high spring tides. Travellers in haste might hurry on to Holyhead, leaving their heavy baggage to go by ship from Chester or Neston. Sir Geoffery Fenton, for example, having left the troops in Wirral in August 1600, went on himself to Holyhead, only to be delayed there because the post boat was in Ireland and there was no other vessel waiting to depart. He sent orders for a bark to be sent from Chester to pick him up if the post bark did not return from Ireland in the meanwhile. A traveller detained in Holyhead by bad weather in January 1605 had the consolation of knowing that there were "about four hundred passengers detained similarly in and about Chester."(1)

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(1) Calendar, State Papers, Ireland. 1603 - 1606, p.247.

In 1631, Holyhead possessed at least one inn with accommodation for travellers. In 1647, Captain Stephen Rich was appointed Commander of the Holyhead Packet and authorized to provide two packet boats receiving £11 per month for each, "one to be constantly attending at Dublin and the other at Holyhead."(1) In 1650, he was superseded by Major Swift as "Postmaster of the two Barques to be employed between Holyhead and Dublin." In 1673, the posts for Ireland left London regularly on two days of the week, and there were three packets plying from Holyhead. Coaches in that year were running regularly from London to Chester, but no further westward. The problem of transporting heavy baggage from Chester to Holyhead remained and facilities for travellers in Holyhead were much less than in Chester. A traveller wrote from Holyhead in 1669 "If I stay longer in this miserable place, I shall not know what to do for contentment. The county about is much infected with a kind of pestilential fever and we are practically in prison." A few days later, further detained by bad weather, he wrote that he was still in "this comfortless place", the weather was "very stormy and foul" and two packet boats and two merchantmen, one from

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(1) These and other details are thoroughly covered by H.R. Davies, op.cit. pp. 112 - 121.

France with wines, the other from Barbados, lay in the harbour.(1) Captain Greenvile Collins described it as dry at low tide. The ships lay on the sand but the wind at North could "make a sea in the harbour."(2)

In the eighteenth century the packet boats from Chester berthed at Parkgate. Here there had come to be considerable accommodation and amenities for travellers waiting for their ships to sail. There were varied trades and occupations represented among the peoples of Parkgate and Neston;mariners, tailors, shoemakers, butchers, bakers, brewers, inn keepers, maltsters, barbers, weavers, rope makers, chaisemen, at least one pawnbroker, an apothecary, several surgeons, an attorney, and a perukemaker.(3) Mrs. Delany wrote from Parkgate in June, 1754:

"We have good reason to think that we shall sail this evening; the wind is turning about and is very temperate and pleasant; and we have secured our passage in the yacht. She is a charming, clean, new ship and reckoned the best sailor on the coast. The Dean went on board her yesterday to fix the best accommodation he could, and had we not come to Parkgate as we did, we should not have found room. People come

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(1) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1669-1670. pp. 23-24.
(2) Capt. G. Collins. Great Britain's Coasting Pilot, London 1693, p.14.
(3) W. Bidlake, op.cit., p.48.

every day and the place is crowded.(1)

The packet boats were two-masted schooners and not all were as seaworthy as the one Mrs. Delany described. In December 1766, one of them foundered off the Skerries and some of the passengers were drowned.(2) In 1775 the Trevor and the Nonpareil were driven on to the Hoyle Bank in a storm and all passengers, nearly two hundred in all, were lost.(3) The King George foundered on Hoyle Bank in 1806 with a loss of one hundred and six lives; many of the bodies were washed ashore and buried in Neston churchyard.(4) In 1795 and 1796 five packet boats were named in the customs book for Parkgate as making regular sailings; These were the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, the King, the Queen, and Lady Fitzgibbon. They registered in from Ireland eighty-seven times in 1795 and seventy-three times in 1793. Sailings were more frequent in the summer than in the winter.(5)

The problem had always been to keep the ships to some sort of a schedule. For example, Adams's Courant Weekly

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(1) The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany edit. Lady Llanover, 1st Series, vol. 3. London, 1861. pp. 276-277. Mrs. Delany described Parkgate as consisting of "fifty or sixty houses in an irregular line by the water side."

(2) Adams's Courant Weekly, December 23rd, 1766.

(3) Chester Chronicle, October 30th, 1775.

(4) The Cheshire Sheaf, 1882, Old Series, Vol.2. p.246; also W. Bidlake, op.cit. p.50.

(5) City Archives, Controller's Subsidy Book, Parkgate

for April 1st, 1777 contained a notice that the ship, Murray, Henry Totty the Master, of Parkgate, "will positively sail from Parkgate on Wednesday the 9th inst. if the wind serves. Every week one of the traders is in readiness, and will sail for Dublin loaded or not loaded, so that passengers will not be detained, as at other places. The Management of the Trade ships is left to Robert Hincks, Esq., Banker, Mr. James Folliott, Merchant, and other gentlemen in this City, who will make a point of having one ship in good condition, ready to depart from Parkgate to Dublin every week."

The vessels carried cargoes as well as passengers, but not in large quantities. In 1774 the Britannia, Owin Brown, Master of Parkgate shipped to Dublin in five voyages, one hundred and two tons of lead returning with over one hundred thousand yards of Irish linen cloth and quantities of linen yarn, calf-skins, tallow and glue. In the same year, the Murray also shipped lead and manufactured articles to Dublin returning with linen cloth, yarn, skins, cowhides and wool. The passenger ships usually avoided taking coal to Dublin but this was not always the practice. On November 12th, 1771, a notice was put in Adams's Courant Weekly, by the masters of vessels "constantly employed in the trade between Parkgate and Dublin," stating that "the owners and masters of several vessels employed during the summer season in the

coal trade between Ness and Dublin have called themselves the Parkgate Traders. They have done great harm to the passenger traffic." The notice was signed by the masters of eleven ships, the Royal Charlotte, the Alexander, the Britannia, the Kildare[1] the King George, the Hibernia, the Nonpareil, the Venus, the Polly, the Smith and the Fly.

During the eighteenth century little was done to improve the harbour at Holyhead. The packet boats were frequently damaged by the heavy swell running into the harbour and their departures were often held up for as much as two or three days by strong easterly winds which would have been excellent once the vessels were out of the harbour. On the other hand, the harbour was very difficult to enter when westerly gales were blowing. In December 1790, the Parkgate packet, Charlemont, was wrecked on Salt Island at the entrance to Holyhead Harbour with the loss of one hundred and ten lives.[2] Lewis Morris in 1748 complained about the hazards for ships lying in the harbour when strong north-west winds were blowing, and advocated the building of enclosing walls at an estimated cost of four or five thousand pounds. "If this Harbour was repaired," he wrote, "and were

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(1) When the Kildare was put up for auction on two occasions in 1774, it was described as being 130 tons, burden, and Parkgate built, and this may have been typical of the others.

(2) S. Lewis, Topographical Dictionary of Wales, op.cit. under Holyhead.

houses built there, it would be a very convenient place for the Irish to import their goods that pay English duty, being within a few hours sailing to the coast of Ireland, and the Dublin merchants might have the conveniency, by the packet boats, of going over to see their goods."(1) At this time, Holyhead packet boats with mails were sailing three times a week in either direction, weather permitting.

Morris was writing before the roads to Holyhead were improved.(2) These improvements took place gradually. The road from Chester to Conway was turnpiked by 1760 and the road across Anglesey, in 1765. In 1766, the Eagle and Child Inn at Holyhead was opened. It had stabling for fifty horses and was intended for the use of nobility and gentry travelling between London and Dublin.(3) The most hazardous part of the journey lay between Conway and Penmaenmawr and around Penmaenmawr Head. In 1769, Parliament made a grant of £2000 towards the rebuilding of this section and the work was completed in 1772. Dr. Johnson found the way in 1774, "lately made very easy and very safe." The ferries at

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(1) L. Morris, Plans of Harbours, Bars, Bays and Roads in St. George's Channel, 1748, p.4.

(2) Holyhead was described as "a town consisting chiefly of houses for the entertainment of such persons as are bound for Ireland, or lately arrived from thence" in A New and Accurate Description of the Present Great Roads and the Principal Cross Roads of England and Wales, 1756.

(3) Adams's Courant Weekly, July 15th, 1766.

Conway and Bangor remained troublesome. In 1776, a weekday service of "flying post chaises" was begun between Chester and Holyhead, and three years later a similar service was initiated from Shrewsbury, via Wrexham and Mold. Improvements to the road from Llangollen to Bangor came later. In 1791, Lord Penrhyn made a road up the west side of Nant Ffrancon to Capel Curig, where he built an inn. This initiated the opening up of a through route. In 1802, the road from Bettws-y-coed to Bangor was turnpiked and this enabled passengers for Dublin from the Shrewsbury direction to travel more directly to Holyhead than by the coast road. In 1808 this route was adopted for Irish mails and in 1811, Telford made his survey for new roads with bridges across the River Conway and the Menai Straits. The first Parliamentary grant of £20,000 in aid of repairs to the Holyhead road was made in 1815. Work was begun on the Menai Bridge in 1819, and on the Conway bridge two years later. By 1830 the reconstruction of the Holyhead road was practically complete.(1)

The interest in the roads to Holyhead strengthened the need to improve the harbour at Holyhead. In 1808 a lighthouse was built there, and in 1810, Acts of Parliament

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(1) Details of the history of the Holyhead Road are given extensively in A.H.Dodd, op.cit. pp.89-96, and the same author's The Roads of North Wales in Archaeologia Cambrensis, 1925, pp. 121 - 148.

authorised work to begin on improving the harbours at Holyhead and Howth in order to facilitate the conveyance of the mails. New harbour works were constructed at Holyhead between 1810 and 1824, under the supervision of Sir John Rennie.

Nearer to Dublin by half the distance, with a good safe harbour, and easily reached by road, Holyhead took the Irish passenger traffic quite easily from Chester and Parkgate, the latter almost abandoned at that time by the sea. Throughout the eighteenth century, the volume of Chester's Irish trade was much less than that of Liverpool. Although it long remained convenient for travellers from London to go to Dublin by Chester and Parkgate, those from northern England found Liverpool more convenient. Liverpool had the attraction for all travellers of a larger number of ships and less likelihood of delay. In this manner, Liverpool slowlybut persistently encroached upon the passenger traffic. In the eighteen twenties, Liverpool and Holyhead finally ousted Chester by their inauguration of steam packet services. Chester and Parkgate had nothing to offer in competition.

(iii)

Commodities Exported to Ireland.(1)

1. Coal.

In the last twenty years of the sixteenth century, small

(1) See Appendices III, A, B, C, and D.

quantities of coal were shipped to Ireland, principally to Dublin.(1) At this time, Milford, Cardiff, and Swansea shipped coal to Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Carlingford, Drogheda, Malahide, and Ross. The consumption of coal in Ireland was increasing, partly owing to the destruction of timber during the wars, and partly because the fashion of burning coal, instead of wood, was spreading among the Anglo-Irish residents.

The volume of the coal trade from the Dee increased slowly after 1600. In 1607, the shipments were about 700 chaldrons, in 1620, 600 chaldrons; in 1639, they had rison to nearly 4,500 chaldrons; falling in 1641, the year of the Great Rebellion, to below 3,000 chaldrons.(2) The importance of the trade had been shown when an imposition of five shillings per chaldron was laid on shipments to Ireland by Lord Mountjoy in 1600, and then quickly removed by the intervention of the Lords of the Council. In 1636, an imposition of four shillings per chaldron was imposed and again quickly removed. On this occasion, the Lord Deputy

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(1) 373 tons of coal were shipped to Dublin in 1588; A.K.Longfield, Anglo-Irish trade in the Sixteenth Century, London, 1929, p.172.

(2) The chaldron of 36 bushels, Winchester measure was used in the Chester Port Books for coal shipments both to Ireland and in the coasting trade. Foreign shipments were sometimes measured in chaldrons of Newcastle measure.

in Ireland wrote to the Privy Council in England, the letter being dated May 30th.

"Since last Easter, more than fifty barques have come here from Chester Water. Every one of these would have brought coal but for the impost and the amount of coal would have been above 2000 tons. As it is they have brought none. This will cause a great rise in the price of coal next winter. It is almost the only material used for firing along the coast, all the winter from Carrickfergus to Youghal."(1)

He continued to say that the ships of the Newcastle and London coal trade were larger than the barks operating between Chester and Dublin. His letter implied an average cargo of 40 tons. The average size of cargoes entered in the Port Books was 7½ chaldrons in 1607, 5½ chaldrons in 1620, 14½ chaldrons in 1639, and 13 chaldrons in 1641. But the shipments were numerous (for example 306 shipments in 1639) even if larger cargoes were unusual. In 1602, there were four shipments of 30 chaldrons each and these were in Dutch ships. In 1639, a Newcastle ship loaded 50 chaldrons, and a Dublin ship 60 chaldrons, but these were exceptional. On the whole, the Chester-Dublin coal ships were much smaller than those operating on the east coast.

Sometimes all ships were impressed into carrying, as, for example, in February 1641, when the Mayor of Chester was

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(1) Calendar, State Papers Ireland, 1633-47, p.130.

requested by the Council in Ireland to order all ships coming from the City to load coals for Dublin. These would be paid for at once because coals were very scarce in Dublin at that time.(1)

The Civil War and the Cromwellian Settlement were only temporary setbacks to this coal trade. Recovery was rapid and Dublin again became very dependent on Flintshire for its coal. When a temporary embargo on the shipment of coal was imposed in May, 1678, the Customs Commissioners quickly directed the officials at Chester to allow ships to take coal to Ireland, contrary to the embargo, "provided they first give bond not to trade to any other kingdom or country during the continuance of the voyages, -- and to return to some port of this kingdom, within such convenient time as shall be thought fit."(2)

In 1680, 9,000 chaldrons were carried from Flintshire to Ireland. During the next seven years the average annual shipment was 6,250 chaldrons. After a below average year of 2,800 chaldrons in 1696, trade revived to reach 7,800 chaldrons in 1699. Most of the coal was carried in ships of Chester or Mostyn. For example, in 1685, out of a total of nearly 6,000 chaldrons, ships of Chester carried 2,500

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(1) Hist. Manus. Commission. Fifth Report. Appendix p.350

(2) Calendar, Treasury Books, 1676-78., vol.V.pt.ii.p.1002.

chaldrons, ships of Mostyn 2,100 chaldrons, ships of Liverpool 700 chaldrons, and ships of Whitehaven 400 chaldrons. Most of the ships took the coal on board at Mostyn Mark, where they lay aground, or in the Wild Road, where they anchored and loaded from lighters. Coal for these ships were largely supplied from the pits belonging to Sir Roger Mostyn. Cargoes were also shipped at Bagillt, especially in the later years of this century.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the volume of the coal exports to Ireland from Flintshire diminished. Occasionally, very small exports were recorded in the Port Books; for example 401 chaldrons in 1726, and 38 chaldrons in 1741. The trade increased after 1750, declining again during the early years of the Seven Years War, and then reviving in the sixties to reach a peak of 9,100 chaldrons in 1770. This was the first year in the eighteenth century in which the annual quantity recorded in the Port Books almost equalled the amount shipped to Ireland in 1680.

Annual Exports of Coal to Ireland in Chaldrons.
1607 to 1774.

Year.	Number of Chaldrons.	Year.	Number of Chaldrons.
1607	705	1696	2815
1620	617	1699	7811
1632	1816	1700	5728
1639	4482	1705	4532
1641	2889	1710	2313
1680	9231	1716	2606
1685	5988	1722	999
1695	4842	1726	401

Year.	Number of Chaldrons.	Year.	Number of Chaldrons.
1729	617	1756	916
1740	1415	1760	1877
1741	38	1765	1815
1745	1124	1770	9112
1751	3158	1774	4959

Although Dublin remained the principal market for Flintshire coal, other ports were receiving consignments in greater quantity than previously in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1770, for example, the quantity imported at various Irish ports was as follows:-

Dublin	6351	chaldrons	Cork	87	chaldrons
Wexford	1297	"	Limerick	80	"
Newry	572	"	Dingle	70	"
Strangford	315	"	Drogheda	43	"
Waterford	134	"	Ross	33	"
Wicklow	120	"			

The average size of shipments to Dublin was about 50 chaldrons in 1770.

There had been three important reasons for the decline in the eighteenth century of the Flintshire coal trade with Ireland. Firstly, there was competition with Whitehaven, where, in Captain Greenvile Collins' time there was "a good dry Peer, where great ships take in Sea-Coals and carry them to Dublin in Ireland." (1) This offered better accommodation for big ships than the hard-lying ground he described at Mostyn Mark, or the anchorage in the Wild Road. Whitehaven dominated the coal trade with Dublin and northern Ireland in

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(1) Captain G. Collins, op.cit. p.14.

in the eighteenth century, so that the Flintshire trade was most meagre in comparison. Occasionally the Flintshire trade was able to step in when her competitors failed, as on the occasion which Pennant described in 1796:

"I remember about forty years ago, there was between twenty and thirty thousand tons of coal upon the bank, the greatest quantity ever seen together. The pits were then worked by the Gadlys Company. The Company had imprudently given their agent, one Lancaster, an unlimited order for raising the coal. This he found so profitable to himself that he never desisted till the discovery was made of his selfish views. To expedite the working he engaged colliers from Newcastle, and was the first in this country to make use of horses underground. The coal might have lain on the bank to this day, if a dispute had not arisen between the city of Dublin and the coal adventurers of Whitehaven. This occasioned the citizens at Dublin to purchase this great stock which was all carried away before the differences were settled." (1)

Secondly, there were the difficulties for ships reaching the Flintshire coast as the River Dee moved its main channel away. The Mostyn family made spirited efforts to maintain a berthing place at Mostyn Mark, but they had little success. When describing the collieries at Mostyn and

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(1) T. Pennant. Whiteford and Holywell, p.275.

and Bychton in 1828, W. Cathral wrote:

"The great change made of late years in the channel of the River Dee is a great disadvantage to these works; for at one time ships of 200 tons used to lie under this Parish with their cables twisted round the trees; but at present vessels of 60 to 70 tons cannot approach nearer than 2 miles from the Collieries, the River Dee now flowing under the opposite shore." (1)

The creek leading up to Holywell had similarly deteriorated, as Pennant described:

"The channel of the Holywell river is to be seen at low tide meandering to it, -- at present the vessels must on recess of the tide, lie dry, and in hard gales, before they get afloat, are subject to much danger. The sands also shift, and make the mark, or anchoring place, often precarious." (2)

Thirdly, there were other uses for the coal on the spot. After 1692, coal was used for lead smelting by the Governor and Company for smelting down lead with Pit Coal and Sea coal. This was just the beginning, and it became the essential fuel for the new industries of the Flintshire sea board - the brass and zinc works, the copper mills, the iron foundries and the potteries. This increased local consumption strongly

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(1) W. Cathral. op. cit. vol. II. p.214.

(2) T. Pennant, Whiteford and Holywell, p.189.

diminished the amount available for export.

Some of the coal shipped to Ireland in the second half of the eighteenth century, however, was from the Ness Colliery. Part of the export was shipped in passenger boats.

2. Metals.

During the eighteenth century small shipments of lead were made to Ireland. These were largely to Dublin and only occasionally were they made to other ports on the east coast. The consignments included pig and cast lead, lead ore and lead shot.

Annual shipments of lead to Ireland in Tons;
1700 to 1774.

Year	Destination Dublin	Rest of Ireland	Total.	Year	Destination Dublin	Rest of Ireland	Total.
1700	54	-	54	1745	325	-	325
1705	48	-	48	1751	344	-	344
1710	171	-	171	1756	193	-	193
1716	371	19	390	1760	82	-	82
1722	297	3	300	1765	385	-	385
1726	134	2	136	1770	395	16	411
1740	281	-	281	1774	308	11	319

Some of the lead entered out for Dublin may have been intended for further shipment to Portugal or Spain since the ships later returned from these countries with wine.

Shipments of iron were less numerous than the shipments of lead. These included English pig iron, cast iron, and wrought iron. Quantities of copper were also exported but

these were even less frequent than the iron shipments.

3. Manufactured Goods.

Until the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Chester was the foremost port on the west coast of England and Wales supplying goods to Ireland. The trade reached its maximum in the years following the time of the Restoration, after which it declined, both in relation to Liverpool and Bristol, and in total quantity. The earlier Port Books contained entries for a vast assortment of goods to Ireland. Many of the entries were for minute quantities, a few yards of cloth, a dozen stockings or hats, a parcel of books, or paper, and a miscellaneous assemblage of ironmongery, apothecary's wares, or household goods. Some of the articles belonged to passengers on their way to Ireland, others were shipped by merchants from Dublin. The names of many Irish merchants were entered in the Port Books for these exports. The variety and the miscellaneous quantities of the goods, make classification difficult and a precise quantitative assessment becomes impossible. The Port Books for the later eighteenth century omitted reference to outgoing cargoes other than coal and lead. It was unlikely that the exports of manufactured goods and other special items had finished at this time. Large numbers of Irish merchants continued to visit the Chester Fairs and the packet boats shipped cargo as well as passengers; but Chester's exports to Ireland, other than coal, were then of relatively minor

importance in comparison with those of Liverpool.

A. Cloth: The exports of cloth in the first half of the seventeenth century were varied. They included broadcloths, Kerseys, bays, fustians and cottons. Some were from the immediate hinterland, others from a wide area of the North of England and the Midlands. These included Yorkshire woollens, Manchester cottons, and Norwich and Kidderminster stuffs. Wales supplied Welsh plains, cottons, webs, and flannel, but not in any considerable quantity. There was also coarse frieze and linen cloth from Lancashire and Cheshire in the seventeenth century. The total number of entries of cloth shipments in the early seventeenth century was considerable, but the actual quantities involved were very small.

B. Clothing: A varied assortment of clothing was shipped from Chester in the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. Woollen and worsted goods figured largely in the seventeenth century. Their variety can be illustrated by reference to a consignment of goods shipped to Dublin in August 1662, by Thomas Higgons of Chester. The whole order was valued at £50-11s-6d.

> "12 pair of fine girls' woollen hose at 20d and 12 pair same at 14d.
> 36 pair of children's yellow hose 12 @ 10d., 12 @ 7d., 12 @ 6d.
> 24 pair wom(an's) woollen body (bodice) and other colours @ 2/-

18 pair men's woollen "sterrups", body and other colours @ 2/3d.
6 pair body worsted tops @ 3/-
12 pair body worsted tops @ 4/-
12 pair wom(an's) worsted body @ 4/2d.
6 pair fine men's black worsted hose @ 4/8d.
6 pair fine men's black worsted hose @ 6/- and 6 pair @ 5/4d.
24 pair men's grey worsted hose @ 3/10d.
24 of same @ 4/4d., 24 @ 5/-
12 pair fine mixed - @ 5/2d.
12 pair of same @ 5/6d.
6 pair fine mix turn downs @ 7/9d.
12 pair of same, large, @ 8/4d.
6 pair of same, very large, @ 9/6d.
2 boxes in which goods were packed 5/6d."(1)

Shipments of haberdashery were frequent. Articles of personal apparel comprised hats, dresses, gowns, silk and leather gloves, shoes, lace periwigs, buttons, and canes for dandies.(2) Additional items, such as hat cases, dressing cases, hair for periwigs and barbers' aprons, were not unusual.

C. Miscellaneous Manufactured Goods: Shipments of iron goods and ironmongery were regular but small. These included fire grates, tools, anvils for smiths, nails, scythes, (and scythe stones), shovels, forks and knives. Some of the cutlery was from Sheffield. Household goods included beds(3) chairs, tables, looking glasses, and miscellaneous items of furniture;

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(1) Calendar State Papers, Ireland, 1660-62, p.584.

(2) Shoes were not shipped in large consignments which one might have expected considering the number of the City cordwainers.

(3) Passengers from Parkgate often took their own feather beds and these were listed in the Port Books.

pewter, earthenware, china, glasses, and table linen. Among general manufactures were brass and copper ware, leather goods (including saddlery), horns, bugles, bellows and cart wheels. Consignments of printed books, paper and writing materials were frequent in the eighteenth century, and there were also cases of tobacco pipes after 1680.

4. Food and Drink.

Chester did not supply large quantities of foodstuffs. The luxury foodstuffs, such as rice, sugar, tea, cocoa and spices, could be more easily obtained from Liverpool and Bristol. Wine, currants, raisins and other fruits could be obtained directly from Spain and Portugal in the ships which came for supplies of provisions. Even so, small quantities of these commodities were shipped from Chester.

Cheshire cheese was supplied to the army in Ireland during the seventeenth century. We have already mentioned supplies sent to the army in the middle years of the century. Large quantities were also shipped during the period of the Revolution Settlement. In May 1690, for example, the Treasury paid £4,117.10s.6d. to Nathaniel Hawes and Thomas Rotbard for the supply of Cheshire cheese for the use of the Army in Ireland.(1) These shipments of military supplies

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(1) These two merchants were also shipping considerable quantities of cheese from Chester to London at this time. Calendar of Treasury Books 1689-1692 vol.9.p.637.

were not mentioned in the Port Books.

Shipments of beer to Ireland were rare, though as we have already mentioned, beer was sent from Chester to the army at Loughfoyle in 1600; but there were many entries for shipments of hops in the Port Books of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, especially between 1705 and 1715.

Annual Export of Hops (in cwts.)
1700 - 1717.

Year.	Hops exported in cwts.
1700	555
1705	2410
1706	3830
1707	2493
1712	4289
1716	396
1717	337

The shipments were made chiefly in the Autumn and early Winter, after the Fairs in Chester, when large quantities were sold.(1) The entries in the Port Books after 1720 were variable and did not indicate a large trade, but writers in the late eighteenth century commented on the large sales at the Autumn Fairs and noted that quantities were shipped to Ireland. These sales were sufficiently important for Adams's Courant Weekly to list the prices reached in the hop sales.

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(1) John Wesley, on one of his many crossings from Parkgate, had a cabin filled with sacks of hops which he had to climb over in order to get in.

The Port Books of the 1770's gave no indication of the trade.

5. Oak Bark.

The export of oak bark in the early years of the eighteenth century troubled the Chester tanners, who required large quantities for their own use. The increase in shipments took place about 1710.

Exports of Oak Bark from Chester
1704 - 1719.(1)

Year	Quantity in Barrels.	Year	Quantity in Barrels.
1704	nil	1710	730
1705	29	1711	310
1706	Nil	1712	240
1707	24	1713	960
1708	nil	1716	665
1709	81	1719	430

This increase was general among the west coast ports. For example, Chepstow exported 294 barrels in 1714, and 813 barrels in 1716; Bristol exported 99 barrels in 1712, and 960 barrels in 1716. Shipments from Chester continued intermittently during the middle years of the century, on a scale no larger than that between 1710 and 1719. They were recorded in the Port Books and the River Dee Company Register of Shipping.

6. Salt.

Chester shipped small quantities of refined salt to

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(1) City Archives, Letters of the Company of Tanners., An Account of Oak Bark exported from Chester, Christmas 1703 to March 1716. T.4.63. 3 barrels approximately equal to 1 ton.

Ireland between 1700 and 1725. In 1701, 14,377 bushels were supplied to Dublin, Wexford and Waterford; in 1719 27,710 bushels were shipped to Londonderry, Newry and Youghal. Ireland was principally supplied from Liverpool in the eighteenth century.

(iv)

Commodities imported from Ireland.

1. Cattle and Sheep.

The trade in Irish cattle was of great importance to Chester in the middle years of the seventeenth century until 1680, although it was interrupted by the Great Rebellion and the Civil War. The trade had begun before 1600. The 1588-89 customs accounts for Chester and Liverpool recorded 76 "quicke kyne" and 15 "quicke beeves", each of about £1 in value.(1) In 1607, however, there was only one shipment of 16 oxen. The Mayor complained to the Privy Council in March 1619, that the City had no ships, trading only in small barks "of thirtie or fortie tunnes -- for the most part used for the importing of passengers and cattell betwixt Ireland and England."(2) In 1620, the Port Book entries were for 864 cattle and 16 sheep, and 22 cows from the Isle of Man.

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(1) A.K. Longfield, op.cit. p.108.
(2) State Papers, 14. 107.

The shipments had increased to 5278 in 1634, and 15,649 in 1639, when more than 4,000 arrived in August. The total annual import of cattle into Britain from Ireland at this time was about 45,000.(1) Shipments to Chester dropped in 1641 to 7,325. The number of sheep at this time was less than the number of cattle; 1863 sheep in 1639, and 3,289 in 1641.

The wars which lasted from 1641 to 1650, in Ireland, did great harm to the cattle trade because each army systematically destroyed the cattle of the other. Supplies were so short in 1652, that Dublin imported meat from Wales.(2) But the lands in Ireland were improved rapidly by the newly-settled soldiers. Later in that year, the Commissioners in Ireland were able to give permission for a limited export of cattle. The trade grew rapidly. In the 'sixties, it was handled in the main by Chester, Carlisle, Whitehaven, Liverpool and Minehead.

Value of Irish Cattle imported into England and Wales 1663-64; 1664-65.(3)

This table appears on the next page.

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(1) J. O'Donovan, The Economic History of Livestock in Ireland. Cork 1940, p.63.

(2) J. O'Donovan, op.cit. p.39.

(3) Shaftesbury Papers. P.R.O. 30/24/36.

	Sept.29th 1663 to Sept. 29th 1664. Value in £	s	d	Sept. 29th 1664 to Sept. 29th 1665. Value in £	s	d
Carlisle & Whitehaven	1710	12	6	2089	10	0
Piel Fowdrey & Combe	464	2	6	236	7	0
Poulton	16	17	6	5	8	0
Liverpool	816	2	6	941	15	2½
Chester	2511	17	6	2064	5	0
Beaumaris	384	2	6	303	7	2
Milford	92	12	6	81	5	0
Swansea	4	5	0	5	0	0
Bristol	3	17	6		nil	
Bridgwater	26	15	5		nil	
Minehead	839	5	0	553	12	6
Barnstaple	103	17	6	51	7	6
Plymouth	74	5	0		nil	

Liverpool's smaller trade can perhaps be explained by the advantage Chester possessed of a good road to London for marketing the cattle on the hoof. The cattle were sent over young in the summer and autumn. Practically none were received from November to early March. In size, Irish cattle had a reputation for being small, but their size and quality was noticed to have improved after 1669.(1) The large number of cattle coming from Ireland was serious for graziers in England who actively agitated for the trade to be stopped. Legislation was eventually introduced to do this. The first Cattle Act of 1664 imposed a duty of 40 shillings per head on imported Irish cattle and restricted the trade to the period

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(1) J. O'Donovan, op.cit. pp. 47, 50.

between July 1st and December 20th. The second Cattle Act of 1667 forbade the importation of Irish live cattle, sheep, pigs, beef, pork and bacon. Exception was made for cattle and sheep from the Isle of Man which were allowed to be shipped to Chester, Liverpool and Wyrewater in numbers not exceeding 600 in toto. This Act was made permanent in 1680.

These Acts stopped the trade in live cattle but not immediately, nor unofficially. There was considerable smuggling in cattle when these restrictions were applied.(1) In April 1667, 1,500 cattle were landed in Wirral. Between May 1st and July 15th of that year, the Chester Quarter Sessions dealt with 13 ships landing 607 cattle and 730 sheep at Mostyn, 1 ship landing 36 cattle and 50 sheep at Hoylake, and 3 ships landing 95 cattle and 80 sheep at Parkgate.(2) In 1675, it was complained that the Customs authorities at Chester were conniving at the landing of Irish cattle. It is very interesting that the Chester Port Book for 1680 contained entries for 12,770 Irish cattle imported, and 41,591 Irish sheep. Entries continued in the next year

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(1) "Cattle brought from Ireland to the western ports have been seized in some places according to the late Act but in others they have not been so roughly dealt with." Calendar, State Papers Domestic, 1666 - 67, p. 560 March 14th, 1667.

(2) Cheshire Quarter Sessions, edit. by J.H.E. Bennett and J.C. Dewhurst. Rec. Soc. Lancs. and Ches. vol. 44. 1940, p.80.

until February 1st, when they terminated abruptly. By this time, 720 cattle and 2,240 sheep, had arrived.

The procedure of dealing with illegal shipments was severe. Anyone was by law allowed to seize any ship carrying Irish livestock. The animals seized had to be killed within six days, the person who made the seizure, receiving all the hides and tallow. The meat was to be distributed among the parish poor by the churchwardens. Seamen detained for this illegal traffic were liable to imprisonment to a maximum of three months, and the ship had to be sold within a year, the proceeds being divided between the "seizer" and the parish poor. If neither the seizer, nor the churchwardens did their duty, they were liable to be fined £2 for each cow, ten shillings for each sheep or pig, the informer receiving one half of the proceeds.(1)

These restrictions remained in force until 1759, when the Acts were repealed to alleviate the wartime shortage of food in England. By their imposition, Chester's trade in Irish livestock had been abruptly ended. It was never re-established on a comparable scale. The Chester Port Books contained no entries for later shipments, but there were a small number of entries for Irish cattle in the Deputy Controller's Account at Parkgate from 1776 to 1786. The trade

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(1) S. Baldwin. A Survey of British Customs, London 1770; Appendix, p.114.

was then a mere fraction of its size one hundred years before.

Number of Cattle Landed at Parkgate;
1776 to 1786.

Year	Number of Cattle	Year	Number of Cattle.
1776	231	1781	nil.
1777	nil	1782	nil
1778	190	1783	40
1779	342	1784	208
1780	83	1785	648
		1786	310

The loss of this trade was a very serious blow to the Port. With no cattle coming in, the Irish trade was out of balance in terms of bulky cargoes. Incoming ships from Ireland often came in ballast, jettisoning this when working their way up the estuary to prevent themselves from grounding, but to the very serious detriment of the navigation. This was one result of the stoppage of the importation of Irish cattle.

2. Beef.

In the early seventeenth century Chester imported small quantities of Irish beef, particularly in the winter months. In 1607, the annual importation was merely 3 barrels and 2 cwts., but in the Lady Day Quarter only, of 1620, the quantity comprised 17 tons, 28 hogsheads, 151 barrels, 2 tierces, and 8 carcasses. In the whole of 1639, the total quantity imported was only 154 barrels and 1 tub; in 1641, it was reduced

to 124 barrels and 2 rundlets. The shipments diminished as the number of imported Irish cattle increased. The trade in meat was prohibited by the Cattle Acts and was not resumed at Chester after 1759.

3. Hides and Calf-Skins.

Irish raw hides were very important to the tanners in Chester. The quality of these hides was not good in the early seventeenth century but increasingly large quantities were imported; for example, 200 hides in 1607, 2000 in 1639, and nearly 8,000 in 1641. In the last quarter of the century the annual number imported was about 2,000.

The increase in tanning in Ireland, and the tax on leather in England, reduced the volume of the trade after about 1711.

Number of Raw Hides Imported at Chester from Ireland 1704 - 1718.(1)

Year	Number of Hides	Year	Number of Hides
1704	4419	1712	914
1705	3021	1713	2058
1706	555	1714	758
1707	1603	1715	721
1708	500	1716	636
1709	2184	1717	995
1710	2565	1718	112
1711	2354		

At this time, Chester's trade was smaller than other west coast ports. In some years in the 1720's none were imported at Chester.

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(1) City Archives. Letters of the Company of Tanners. T.4. Jour. H. of C. vol. XIX p.122.

Number of Raw Hides Imported from Ireland to West Coast Ports 1716 to 1718[1]

Port	1716	1717	1718
Beaumaris	111	-	-
Bideford	-	21	-
Bristol	4380	2366	5773
Chepstow	124	11	-
Chester	636	995	112
Lancaster	1194	668	279
Llanelly	41	-	-
Liverpool	5561	7176	5689
Milford	20	-	-
Minehead	21	21	-
Poulton	114	2	-
Whitehaven	1993	621	1232

Chester's imports increased in the second half of the eighteenth century, but were fluctuating from year to year; thus, for example, 4,700 were imported in 1750, 8,300 in 1760 1200 in 1764, and 11,200 in 1771. The hides were obtained from Dublin, Newry, Strangford and Cork. Sometimes individual shipments from Cork exceeded 2,000 hides. Throughout the two centuries there were occasional shipments of tanned hides,but these were very small in proportion to the number of imported raw hides.

A small number of untanned calfskins were imported in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, the annual shipments varied generally between 250 and 750 dozens. Very rarely did the quantity exceed 1000 dozens. There were occasional shipments of tanned calfskins

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(1) Jour. H. of C. vol. XIX, p.122.

4. Sheep-skins, Lamb-skins and Miscellaneous Skins.

Particularly in the seventeenth century, Chester imported a wide variety of skins from Ireland. Of these the sheep- and lamb-skins were the most considerable and continuously imported. The lamb-skins were particularly required by the City glovers. The sheep-skins imported before 1640 were often of inferior quality. They included morkins, which were the skins of sheep or lambs, killed by accident or disease, and broke-fells (or brookfells), which were poor quality sheep-skins. Considerable quantities of rabbit-skins were imported at this time, and smaller quantities of fox-, goat-, kid-, buck-, doe-, otter- and marten-skins. During the eighteenth century the imports were reduced to sheep, lamb- and rabbit-skins. The sheep- and lamb-skins remained a regular item of trade. The quantity annually imported was small in weight, varying from 10 to 30 tons, but considerable in value.

5. Wool and Woollen Cloth.

Chester had only a small trade in Irish wool during the two centuries. The export of wool from Ireland had been prohibited during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards, until 1753, the trade was controlled by licensing ports in Ireland, England and Wales. In 1623 the City was made one of the licensed ports. The licence was renewed in 1661, 1696 and 1739. In 1696, the trade increased, but it remained smaller

than that of Liverpool. In 1740, Chester imported 5450

Imports of Wool from Ireland at Authorised Ports (in stones). 1695 - 1702.[1]

	1695	1696	1697	1699	1702
Chester	373	8778	9214	3105	4565
Whitehaven	-	-	95	93	-
Liverpool	7559	13187	56923	48156	136886
Bristol	-	-	3777	13438	11163
Bridgwater	-	-	724	4037	1790
Minehead	4589	15332	21023	85777	71963
Barnstaple	3964	6869	4121	18469	24186
Bideford	9320	42459	108718	126267	69824

stones of wool; the average quantity for the three years, 1763 to 1766, was 3873 stones.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century a variety of Irish woollen cloths were brought to Chester in small quantities. These included mantles, cadows, (rough woollen coverlets), rugs, blankets, and checkars, (fabrics woven with small squares). Between 1680 and 1715 considerable quantities of Irish frieze were imported. By 1720, the trade had practically finished.

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(1) British Museum, Sloane MSS 2902.293; Manuscripts of the House of Lords, New Series. Vol.5., p.334.

Imports of Irish Frieze into Chester 1683 - 1724, in yards.

Year	Quantity in Yards.	Year.	Quantity in Yards.
1683	31,900	1705	14,000
1686	37,900	1706	7,800
1695	13,100	1715	3,200
1696	43,500	1722	100
1702	11,800	1724	200

6. Linen Yarn and Linen Cloth.

Irish linen yarn had been imported through Chester and Liverpool for Manchester in the sixteenth century. In the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, the citizens of Chester were frequently complaining that the farmers of the customs imposed higher rates on Irish Linen yarn at Chester than at Liverpool to the detriment of their trade. This was not satisfactorily settled and the advantages were with Liverpool.(1) The evidence of the Port Books gives an impression of a small amount of trade at Chester; 42 packs(2) and 8 cwts. of yarn imported in 1607, 59 packs and 76 cwts. in 1634, and 79 packs and 24 fardels (3) in 1639. From 1680 to 1774, there were only occasional shipments of small quantities

Small quantities of linen cloth were imported into Chester in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, increasing

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(1) City Archives. M/L.G.155 and Mayor's Letters September 28th, 1607 and July 10th, 1610.

(2) A pack of generally 4000 lbs. weight.

(3) A bundle of unspecified size.

towards 1700, when 61,400 yards were imported. Soon afterwards the trade diminished and did not recover until the rapid expansion after 1740. Pennant stated that the City's trade in Irish linen cloth began in 1736 when 449,654 yards were imported.(1) It is likely that the trade revived before that date, although entries for linen shipments may not have been made in the Port Books because no duties were paid on the cloth. The trade developed vigorously between 1740 and 1770. A

Imports of Irish Linen Cloth at Chester; 1744 to 1774, in yards.

Year	Quantity in Yards
1744	426,103
1750	572,157
1755	968,019
1761	2,818,156
1765	1,121,628
1770	1,181,969
1774	275,134

very considerable business in linen cloth was done at the City Fairs in the autumn. Besides the cloth imported direct from Dublin, which was the centre for the cloth trade in Ireland, further quantities were imported through Liverpool, sent across the Mersey to Ince, from whence they were brought to the City in carts. In 1774, the City merchants agreed to build a new linen hall to deal more conveniently with the great volume of trade. This, on a site near Watergate Street, was completed in

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(1) T. Pennant, Tours. vol.1., p.265.

1778, with accommodation for 94 shops. The business transacted at the Fairs declined about 1800, because the linen trade was moving to Liverpool. This was brought about by the displacement of Dublin by Belfast as the principal centre in Ireland. The volume of cloth imports at Chester declined rapidly in the opening years of the nineteenth century, as a consequence of the decline of Dublin.

7. Miscellaneous Imports.

Small quantities of fish, particularly herrings, were imported in the first half of the seventeenth century. Afterwards fish was seldom imported from Ireland. Animal products, other than those already mentioned, included tallow, cattle horns, and small quantities of bacon and butter occasionally. Goose quills, feathers, and feather beds were frequently imported. Usquebagh, a spirit distilled in Ireland, was shipped in limited quantities in the eighteenth century. Timber was seldom imported. Occasionally there were consignments of barrel staves. Irish iron was imported in small, occasional quantities from 1680 to 1720. Shipments from Ireland to Chester also included goods originally imported from the continent such as wine, fruit, corkwood, or steel.

(v)

The Total Trade.

The volume of the Irish trade was much greater than that of the foreign trade. The outgoing shipments in the Port Books numbered 145 in 1620, 157 in 1700 and 229 in 1770; the incoming shipments for those years numbered 102, 78 and 56 respectively. The exports to Ireland generally exceeded the imports because of the large coal shipments, but this was not so in the 1660's when the value of the imports was greater owing to the large number of imported cattle. At this time Chester was pre-eminent among west coast ports in the Irish trade. The bulk of the trade was with

The Value of Trade with Ireland at London and the Outports, 1665[1]

	Inwards			Outwards		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
Chester	3366	17	4	1270	11	11½
London	284	13	3	86	4	1½
Plymouth	189	10	1	21	19	0¼
Beaumaris	373	7	9½	5	19	0
Carlisle & Whitehaven	2248	3	1½	200	15	3
Poulton	27	14	6	10	9	6
Bridgwater	28	2	7		-	
Minehead	1221	18	4¼	27	18	6¾
Liverpool	1623	2	10	312	14	8
Piel Fowdrey	352	14	9½		-	
Bristol	580	19	4½	429	18	4½
Exeter		15	0		-	
Barnstaple	181	2	5	30	17	0
Swansea	6	9	0	82	3	4
Milford	108	8	7	64	19	7

(1) P.R.O. Shaftesbury Papers 30/24/36.

Dublin. It was not until after 1750 that more than one quarter of the trade was with other ports on the east coast of Ireland. There was also a small amount of trade with the Isle of Man which, however, mostly traded with Liverpool and Poulton. The Isle of Man acted in a small way as an entrepot for Irish and foreign goods besides shipping to Chester numbers of its own cattle, and quantities of meat, hides, skins, fish, barrel staves, copper and lead, in return for manufactured goods and coal.

The stoppage of the cattle trade was very serious for Chester. After 1680, there was no incoming bulk cargo to fill the coal ships instead of ballast. The jettisoning of ballast was an important factor in the silting of the river. A further disadvantage under which Chester chronically suffered was the lack of concentration within the port area of the Dee estuary; the coal trade was based on the Flintshire coast where a large number of the cattle were also landed; the passenger traffic was centred on Neston and Parkgate; and on neither the Flintshire, nor the Cheshire side of the estuary, were the road communications with the City adequate, until the later years of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER 8.

THE COASTING TRADE;

1600 TO 1800.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Chester's coasting trade was not large. It was then mainly restricted to trade with the ports of Lancashire, Cumberland and North Wales, particularly Beaumaris, and only occasionally did the coasters go further afield to London, Bristol, or ports of Southern and Eastern England. The coasters themselves were small ships about 10 tons or less. After the temporary disruption during the Civil War, Chester's coasting trade expanded considerably during the second half of the century, and doubled in volume. Whereas the number of entries in the Port Books of incoming and outgoing shipments ranged between 60 and 100 per year for the years before 1640, they often exceeded 200 in the last decade of the century. The ships, too, were carrying larger cargoes, sometimes of between 50 and 100 tons, and they were more frequently sailing to London, Bristol and the south coast ports. At the same time, trade with Liverpool was rapidly increasing. This became a very important element in Chester's coasting trade in the eighteenth century. The expansion of trade in the later decades of the seventeenth century was mainly due to the large outgoing

cargoes of coal, cheese, and, later, lead. These were the three staple exports in the coasting trade. Many of the ships, which had shipped coal or lead, returned in ballast which they jettisoned in the estuary, especially in the Wild Road off Mostyn Mark. In this way, Chester's coasting trade, like the Irish trade, was not balanced, because the outgoing shipments generally exceeded the number incoming. This lack of balance continued throughout the eighteenth century. Unfortunately also, only cheese among these three staples, had to pass through the City; the coal and lead were shipped direct from the Flintshire coast, the latter, in lighters to vessels anchored at Parkgate or Dawpool.

Chester's coasting trade continued to increase in total volume until the peak years of the early 1770's, when the annual number of incoming and outgoing entries in the Port Books generally exceeded 500.(I) This expansion was not seriously checked by the disturbances of the Spanish Succession and Seven Years Wars, although, during each, trade with London was at times interrupted. In the 1760's and '70's, shipments became more frequent to and from south and east coast ports,

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(I) This was much larger than the number of ships employed in the Irish trade. The coast books at this time only contained entries of cocquets, so the number of ships entered in the books is less than the total actually employed in the trade.

such as Poole, Southampton, Chichester, Shoreham, Ipswich, Wells, Kings Lynn and Hull, but they were never more than occasional and irregular features of the coasting trade, which was firmly based throughout the eighteenth century on trade with Liverpool, London, Bristol and the ports of North Wales and Cumberland.

(i)

COMMODITIES IN THE EXPORT TRADE.(I)

1. Coal.

Coasting shipments of coal were extremely small in the early years of the seventeenth century. In 1612, there were only two shipments one of 12 chaldrons to Conway and another of 15 chaldrons to Plymouth. In 1630, 120 chaldrons were shipped to Beaumaris, Caernarvon, Holyhead, Portdinllaen, St.Davids, Poulton, Piel Fowdrey and Poole. The increase in coal mining in Flintshire after 1660, especially at Mostyn, encouraged larger shipments. In 1674, the coasting shipments exceeded 1100 chaldrons of which 800 chaldrons were shipped to Beaumaris. During the next twenty-five years the total coasting shipments maintained this level, with the majority of

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(I) See Appendices IV A,B and C.

shipments to tho North Walos' ports, in particular to Beaumaris. Liverpool also rocoivod small quantitios oach year from Flintshiro at this timo.

A real slump in tho coasting trado in coal camo in tho first docado of tho oightoonth century, after a duty of fivo shillings por chaldron had been imposod on all coals shipped coastwiso. Tho shipmonts from tho Doo woro considorably reduced, and this duty handicapped Chostor's coasting trado in coal throughout tho contury. As a consoquonco, tho rocovory of tho trado was slow aftor the doprossod yoars of the first docado of tho contury.

ANNUAL COASTING EXPORTS OF COAL IN CHALDRONS, 1612 - 1770.

Yoar.	Shipments to Ports of Walos in chaldrons	Total shipped coastwiso in chaldrons
1612	12	27
1630	73	120
1674	1038	1120
1680	916	1025
1685-6	1301	1468
1691	954	1069
1694-5	1134	1452
1699-1700	684	699
1705	406	406
1710-1	467	479
1716	905	905
1721	581	581
1726	570	570
1740-1	688	752
1745	494	520
1751	555	630
1756	1616	2117
1760	1275	1301
1765	1426	1463
1770	2294	2429

The revival of the coal trade began after 1750. In 1756 more than 2000 chaldrons were shipped coastwise, and although this quantity was not maintained in the immediately following years, in 1770, the total shipped reached 2400 chaldrons. In those middle years of the century the coal was mainly taken to the ports in North Wales, although the trade was not concentrated on Beaumaris as it had been in the seventies and eighties of the seventeenth century. The trade extended south to Barmouth, Aberdovey, Aberystwyth and Cardigan, in competition with coal from South Wales.

2. Lead.

The Port Books record very few shipments of lead in the years before 1640. When shipments did occur, they were usually very small. Thus in 1630, one ton of lead was listed in a cargo to Liverpool which also contained prunes, soap, hops and flax. This was the only lead shipment recorded that year. After the time of the Restoration, small shipments of lead were made to Liverpool, Bristol and London, which were later to become the main market for Flintshire lead. In the 1670's and 1680's the shipments were chiefly of ore, and they were made to Bristol, Liverpool and London, which imported partly refined, as well as powdered ore from Flintshire. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, shipments temporarily declined, and occasional imports of ore were made from Aberdovey.

The export of pig lead at this time was quite small. Between Midsummer 1697 and Midsummer 1698, only 98½ tons of pig lead were exported coastwise; of this total 42 tons were shipped to Liverpool, 34½ tons to London, and 22 tons to Bristol. Five years later the lead exports exceeded 1000 tons, and the greater part of this was pig lead. The export of 1102 tons in

ANNUAL SHIPMENTS OF LEAD TO LONDON, BRISTOL AND LIVERPOOL: IN TONS: 1674 TO 1774.

Year	London	Bristol	Liverpool	Total
1674	9	29	104	132
1680	42	66	69	177
1685-6	50	60	30	140
1691	47	-	44	91
1694-5	-	-	51	51
1699-1700	98	232	82	412
1703	527	495	80	1102
1705	930	450	81	1461
1710-1	-	1123	697	1820
1716	209	1097	148	1454
1721	1328	923	376	2627
1726	4334	821	594	5749
1729	4786	222	749	5757
1740-1	3070	5	1730	4805
1745	356	297	1624	2288
1751	484	332	1649	2520
1756	1286	436	1745	3512
1760	169	673	2023	2865
1765	672	85	3043	3885
1770	1047	88	1994	3151
1773-74	851	229	2996	4159

1703 included 516 tons of pig lead to London and 370 tons to Bristol. This increased output of pig lead from Flintshire was due to the London Quaker Lead Company, The main problem of the Quakers had been to find a suitable means of conveying

their pig lead to London. An answer was found by Edward Wright, the manager of the mines and furnaces held by the Company in Flintshire. He reported to London in 1703. "Ye best way seems to be by getting lead from Flint to any of the Welch collieries that serves Plymouth with coles and so from Plymouth to London".(I) This was only a temporary expedient at the time when the Spanish Succession War was upsetting the normal shipping, between Chester and London. Later the cheese ships were found more suitable for the conveyance of the lead. The practice of the Company was then to send the pig lead up the river in small boats to Chester whence it could be put on board as ballast. Later it was more satisfactory for the small boats to be sent from Bagillt to Parkgate or Dawpool, where, after due examination by the customs officials, they waited for the cheese ships which had berthed in Chester, or they loaded directly on to those lying aground at Parkgate.

The export of lead, especially pig lead, remained a very important element in Chester's coasting trade throughout the eighteenth century. Shipments were at their maximum between 1725 and 1730, when they often exceeded 5000 tons in the year. At that time, London received more than three quarters of the export, the remainder going to Bristol and Liverpool. During

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(I) Quoted in A. Raistrick, op.cit. p.112.

the course of the century, the London trade was interrupted during the wars of the 1740's and late 1750's, from which it never recovered to its former size. The trade to Bristol continued, but in some years the quantity was meagre. Far more significant was the large amount of lead shipped to Liverpool after 1740. Liverpool in effect became the main market for Flintshire lead.

A feature of the eighteenth century coasting trade in lead was the large size of individual cargoes, which frequently exceeded 100 tons. The shipments were made by the taking out of cocquets and the deposition of large sums as surety. The following, for example, is a typical entry in the Port Books.

> January 22nd, 1711. In the Marygold of Mostyn, John Grifith, Master, for Bristol, Anthony Barker, 900 pigs. 113 tons 16 cwts. 3 qtrs. 13 lbs. lead. The Master and Thomas Biggins. De Civit Cost. --- £1000 bond.
>
> On May 11th, 1711, the Marygold took a further cargo of 113 tons 17 cwts. to Bristol.

The Port Books of coasting trade are no longer extant for Chester after 1774. To continue the history of the lead trade we have a list of coastal exports of pig lead and lead ore, between 1771 and 1806, compiled by Pennant. This was based on information from the customs officials at Chester. This list showed that the coasting trade in lead was not so severely reduced by the French wars at the close of the century as the foreign trade. However, the volume of the coasting trade in

tho 1790's was considerably loss than it had been in tho 1720's or '50's.

ANNUAL COASTAL EXPORTS OF LEAD AND LEAD ORE IN TONS;
1771 TO 1806.(I)

Yoar	Load	Lead Oro.
1771	3470	431
1776	2813	432
1786	1058	309
1796	1163	376
1806	2200	490

3. Calamino.

Calamino, from which zinc was oxtractod, was frequontly montionod in tho Port Books after 1740, under tho dosignation of "lapis calaminoris", At this timo shipmonts woro boing mado largoly to Bristol, whoro it was usod in tho manufacturo of brass. In tho 1720's occasional shipmonts of calamino woro mado to London; 130 tons for oxamplo, in 1722; and 33 tons in 1726. Tho shipmonts to Bristol from 1740 to 1770 woro gonorally moro rogular, although tho annual tonnago soldom oxcoods 500 tons. Tho shipmonts to Liverpool woro chiofly of calcinatod calamino.

(I) T. Pennant, Tours, vol.3. p.280.

ANNUAL EXPORT OF CALAMINE IN TONS;

1742 TO 1770.

Year	London	Bristol	Liverpool	Swansea	Total
1742	-	419	33	-	452
1749-50	-	412	-	-	412
1756	20	609	43	-	672
1761	-	99	-	-	99
1767	-	321	151	98	570
1770	-	598	201	141	940

According to Pennant about 1000 tons of calamine were shipped each year from Flintshire in the 1790's.(I)

4. Salt.

Although, as has already been pointed out, Chester was situated at no great distance from the salt manufacturing districts of mid-Cheshire, the Port took little part in the large Cheshire salt trade which developed after 1670. The salt trade was focussed upon the River Weaver and Liverpool. In fact, Chester imported rock salt from Liverpool by sea. On the other hand, small quantities of refined salt were shipped from Chester in the eighteenth century, just as they had been in the seventeenth. This refined salt came from evaporating pans using sea water at Mostyn and Hilbre, or from Nantwich, the southernmost of the mid-Cheshire salt towns, which had a reputation for making the finest refined salt in Cheshire.

(I) T. Pennant, Tours, vol.2. p.71.

It was easily accessible to Chester, being situated on the much-used London highway. Chester shipped barrels of salt to Beaumaris, Nevin, Portdinllaen and Liverpool, for example, in 1630. In that year there were six shipments to Liverpool, making a total of 314 barrels. The trade with Liverpool stopped after 1670, but the Welsh shipments continued. For example, in the first half of 1695, 50 barrels of salt were shipped to Beaumaris, Aberystwyth, and Aberdovey, 16 to Caernarvon, 14 to Bideford and 6000 bushels to Milford. This was minute in comparison with Liverpool, which shipped in 1690, 19,700 bushels to Milford, 18,000 to Bristol, 11,990 to Carmarthen and smaller quantities to ports of south west England and South Wales. The shipment of small quantities of refined white salt from Chester continued until about 1730, after which year entries of refined salt going outwards, seldom appeared in the Chester Port Books.

5. Cheese.

Just as coal and lead were the staple minerals of Chester's outgoing coastal trade, so also was cheese the staple agricultural export. The cheese trade developed after 1660, when the cheesemongers were relieved of the many restrictions against engrossing, which had so encumbered their trading in the first half of the century. Before 1640, very little cheese was sent by sea from Chester to London, although thirty years later

this was in the process of becoming one of the regular routes of supplying the capital. It was known as the long sea route, to distinguish it from the one along Watling Street across the Midlands, or the alternative down the River Trent and by coastal shipping from the Humber.

The insignificance of the Chester cheese trade in the early years of the century is indicated by the shipment of only 8 cwts. in 1623, and the absence of any cheese entries in many of the few Port Books now available for the period 1600 to 1630. In 1674 the cheese shipments exceeded 500 tons, and nine years later, 1000 tons; but 1683 was a peak year and the

ANNUAL SHIPMENTS OF CHEESE TO LONDON IN TONS.

Year	Tonnage	Year	Tonnage
1674	511	1726	1139
1680	866	1729	1462
1683	1017	1740-1	1142
1685-6	531	1745	700
1691	253	1751	1152
1694-5	35	1756	1027
1699-1700	433	1760	1391
1705	15	1765	1365
1710-1	-	1770	1308
1716	1049	1773-4	1111
1721	1337		

quantities diminished in the late eighties and nineties. For ten years after 1700, the trade to London was so severely interrupted by the Spanish Succession War, that practically no cheese shipments were made. The return of peace brought a revival, and from 1715 to 1730 Chester annually shipped over

1000 tons of cheese to London. The quantities shipped in the middle years of the century fluctuated between 500 and a little over 1000 tons. Occasionally rather larger quantities were shipped in later years, but the trade, although persisting until after 1800, did not expand. New markets were being found, particularly in the new industrial towns of North Staffordshire and South Lancashire. Here the farmers could sell the quicker ripening types of cheese, which they preferred to make, because they were soon ready for sale and did not require a long period of rest in the dairy while maturing. Even so, the cheesemongers continued to ship cheese to London by the long sea route after 1800, in spite of the difficulties of the river navigation, which compelled them to use a steam launch to tow their ships up to the City on the high spring tides.

The cheese trade to London never attained the dimensions Defoe claimed. According to him, Cheshire supplied the capital annually with 14000 tons, some going by the long sea route, and the remainder overland or to Hull and along the east coast. Also, Chester possessed no monopoly of the trade which was shared with Liverpool. The cheese shipped from the Mersey was collected at Frodsham, at the junction of the River Mersey and the River Weaver.

6. Miscellaneous Exports.

Chester did not export large quantities of corn. In the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were occasional and irregular small shipments of wheat, barley, oats, peas and beans. The shipments were mainly to Liverpool in the eighteenth century. In good years, they rarely exceeded 500 quarters of wheat, and less of other cereals. In comparison with other English ports, Chester's corn exports were slight.

In the eighteenth century small quantities of potatoes were shipped to London, Liverpool and Warrington. There were occasional shipments of butter and bacon, in particular to London.

A large part of the exports consisted of goods which had been imported from the continent, and from Ireland, or had been shipped coastwise. These included wine, spirits, tobacco, sugar, pepper, rice, dyestuffs and an endless variety of manufactured goods including clothing, furniture, utensils and ironmongery. Some of these had been manufactured in the City, such as, for example, leather, gloves and tobacco pipes. Others had been manufactured in the hinterland. Much of the earthenware shipped in the second half of the eighteenth century was probably made at Hawarden and Buckley. Some of the iron was also made in the hinterland. Isaac Wilkinson shipped guns to London and Liverpool through Chester during the Seven Years War and afterwards. These varied exports will be further considered later in this chapter, after discussing the coastal

imports. Here it is important to emphasise that the City was a considerable entrepot for the redistribution of a large variety of goods. At the same time the City also exported goods manufactured in the City and the hinterland.

(ii)

COMMODITIES IN THE IMPORT TRADE

The incoming shipments were extremely varied. There were no particular staple commodities which retained importance over a long period in the manner that coal, lead and cheese dominated the eighteenth century outgoing shipments, but there were groups of commodities such as manufactured goods, raw materials, foodstuffs, agricultural produce and colonial goods which in all their variety were extremely important. This trade, though small in the seventeenth century, grew to large proportions in the eighteenth.

1. Manufactured Goods.

The largest cargoes of manufactured goods came from London in the ships which had exported cheese and lead. The variety of goods was remarkable; it included ironmongery, household goods, wearing apparel, linen cloth, silk, soap, paper, drugs, dyestuffs and sometimes gunpowder. Many of these goods, such as German linen and French silk, had been imported

to London from the continent and re-exported coastwise to Chester. Small cargoes of less variety were shipped from Bristol and Liverpool. The import of manufactured goods was very small in the early years of the seventeenth century, but it became increasingly important during the last quarter of the century, and continued to expand and grow in complexity during the eighteenth. Many of these imports were re-directed to the Welsh ports.

2. Raw Materials.

Among the imported raw materials were those for the City's industries; small quantities of hides and skins from North Wales and Liverpool for the tanners, clay from Bideford, Poole and Milford for the tobacco pipe makers, and Norwegian naval stores from Liverpool for the shipbuilders. Building materials were imported from North Wales, particularly slates from Beaumaris and Caernarvon, and oak timber from Conway.

A recurring but not continuous feature of the eighteenth century trade was the import of lead ores for the smelters on the Flintshire coast. The cargoes were chiefly from Central Wales and Scotland. Aberdovey had been shipping ore occasionally to Chester before 1700, as for example, in 1693, when 3 ships brought 71 tons. The Cardiganshire mines were revived in the 1740's under the vigorous direction of Lewis Morris, and, for a few years, shipped annually 250 to 500 tons of ore to

Flintshire. This revival was not sufficiently prolonged to provide a permanent trade in ore from Aberdovey to Chester. In the 1770's, there was a small but temporarily important series of shipments from Wigtown.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, there were regular imports of iron ore from Cumberland. These were not entered in the Port Books, but they were listed in the Register of Shipping of the Dee Company. There were also occasional shipments of copper ore from Conway and Cornwall, but the period of the copper trade from Amlwch in Anglesey to Greenfield on the Flintshire side of the Dee estuary, occurred in the 1780's and 1790's.

3. Agricultural Produce and Foodstuffs.

Chester had no need to import large quantities of agricultural produce because of the productivity of the hinterland, except in bad years. Thus, in 1770, corn was imported from Portsmouth, Southampton, Shoreham, Newhaven, London, King's Lynn and Wisbech. These shipments of corn from the south and east coast ports were exceptional in the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century they had been extremely rare. On the other hand there was always a small trickle of agricultural produce from Caernarvon and Anglesey, which supplied barley, rye, butter, bacon, cheese and beef. Conway regularly shipped small quantities of wheat, grown in the sheltered valley of the

River Conway.

The ports of North and Central Wales also supplied fish to Chester in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. This was largely herrings, both salted and smoked. In the early part of the seventeenth century, small quantities of cod and white fish were shipped from Workington and Whitehaven. Liverpool sometimes re-exported Irish fish to Chester.

Exotic foodstuffs were shipped from London, Liverpool and Bristol. These included currants, raisins, prunes, olive oil, oranges, lemons, and wines from Gascony, Spain and the Canary Islands. These ports also provided colonial produce, including sugar, rice, cocoa, and tea.

(iii)

DIRECTION OF TOTAL TRADE.

1. Trade with London.(I)

Before 1640, trade between Chester and London was small and irregular. Thus in 1623, for example, five ships arrived from London. The cargoes included one large shipment of malt, (500 quarters) and four mixed assignments of flax, soap, groceries, molasses, beer, Spanish wine, aquavita, pitch, tar,

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(I) See Appendices IV D and E.

maddor, copporas, alum, habordashory, stono bottlos and tobacco pipos. On tho othor hand, thoro woro no roturn shipments that yoar from Chostor to London. In 1630 thoro was ono gonoral cargo from London, and nono in roturn.

Tho citizons of Chostor woro not pleasod to havo London morchants at this timo, trading in tho City. In 1610, thoy had requostod tho Mayor to take stops to rostrain tho Londoners.(I) If nocossary ho was to confor with Bristol on suitablo action. Suits against individual Londoners had boon contosted, but thoy had boon unsuccossful. In 1621, tho largo quantity of goods brought into tho City at tho fairs and at othor timos both by land and by soa/by the London merchants was considorod to bo a roason for tho docay of trado within tho port, as it handicapped and discouragod tho City's own morchants and rotailors.(2)

Tho London trado grow after tho timo of tho Rostoration whon tho London choosomongors, freod from tho rostrictions against trading in quantity, and ongrossing, bogan to ship Choshiro choose diroct from Chostor. Tho choose ships sailod rogularly on this routo for tho noxt ono hundrod and fifty yoars, oxcopt during somo yoars of tho Spanish Succossion War, whon this branch of Chostor's coasting trado was sovoroly interruptod. Tho ships roturnod with largo gonoral cargoos of

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(I) City Archivos. ML/6. 51.
(2) City Archivos. ML/6. 155.

manufacturod goods, foodstuffs, colonial produco, and various commoditios from tho continont, such as linon from Holland and Gormany, wino from tho Rhinoland, and silk from Franco.(I) Minuto dotails of thoso cargoos woro rocordod in tho Port Books.(2) In tho oightoonth contury lead was oxportod from Chostor in tho choose ships. Tho lead trado to London roachod its poak in tho 1720's, subsoquontly doclining as Livorpool bocamo tho principal markot for tho Flintshiro lead, shippod coastwiso.

In tho 1720's and '30's tho choesomongors had a fleot of about twonty ships engagod in this coasting trado, and each of thoso gonorally mado at loast two runs in tho yoar. In comparison with tho ships in othor branchos of tho City's coasting trado, tho choose ships woro largo, thoir burdon ranging botwoon 50 and 150 tons. Many of thom anchorod or lay aground at Noston or Parkgato, whoro thoir loading and unloading was handlod by lightors; which brought tho chooso storod in tho warohouso noar tho Watorgato, and tho load from Mostyn and Bagillt. Tho alarm that Parkgato would bo ruinod as an anchorago, occasionod tho choosomongors to opposo Kindorley's schomo

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(I) A notico in Adams's Courant Wookly of August 26th 1766 statod that tho Diligonco, a now chooso ship of 100 tons, burdon, would sail in ton days from Hay's Wharf, London, and would takо goods for Chostor, Whitchurch, Nantwich, Middlowich, Northwich, Wrexham, Holywoll and all placos adjacont.

(2) Soo Appondix IV. D.

in the first instance. In the second half of the century, the cheese ships more frequently anchored lower down the river at Dawpool.

A characteristic of this London trade in the eighteenth century was the greater volume of exports from Chester than imports. Very frequently, the ships which had taken lead and cheese, returned first to Dublin, where they collected goods and passengers for Liverpool or Chester. In addition to these principal exports of cheese and lead, there were also occasional small consignments of leather, shoes, bacon, potatoes, and during the Seven Years War, guns and shells from Wilkinson's works at Borsham. Many of the shipments of munitions were for Woolwich.

The largest shipments of lead and cheese were made by George and Thomas Prescott and Thomas Bennion who often shipped several hundred tons of each commodity. Other Chester merchants engaged in the trade were John Brooks, David Clayton, James Comberbach, William Farrington, John and Thomas Hencks, John Holford, Peter Leckonby and John Murray. Many of the cheese ships were registered in Chester and manned by crews from the City, Neston and Parkgate.

The decline of the London trade in the closing years of the eighteenth century, was in part induced by the difficulties in the way of taking ships of 100 tons, up the river to the

City; but there were other contributory factors. Firstly, there was the improvement of land communications both by road and by the new canals, which reduced the advantages of the coasting trade. As late as 1770, however, the cost per ton to bring goods from London to Chester, was 15 shillings by sea, and £8 by road. It was estimated at that time, the London to Chester road carried annually 750 tons of goods, and twice that quantity in times of war.(I) Secondly, Liverpool became more able to supply a large range of goods for which Chester had been earlier dependent on London. Thirdly, alternative markets were absorbing Cheshire cheese and Flintshire lead.

2. Trade with Liverpool.(2)

The development of the coasting trade with Liverpool formed three stages. From 1600 to about 1660, the trade between the two ports was very small and irregular. An interesting feature of this period was the shipment of salt from Chester, as well as coal, wines and small quantities of corn. After about 1660 Liverpool grew rapidly, and the period from 1666 to 1730 was one of increasing trade. Liverpool supplied Chester with colonial produce, especially tobacco, sugar and molasses;

(I) J. Monk. Remarks relating to a Canal intended to be made from the City of Chester to join the Navigation from the Trent to the Mersey at or near Middlewich. Chester 1770.

(2) See Appendices IV F and G.

timber, flax, and hemp from the Scandinavian and Baltic countries; and rock salt from the mid - Cheshire salt field. In return, Chester supplied Liverpool with some of the overseas commodities which had come to Chester from London, as well as lead, timber, coal and corn. After 1730, the shipments to Liverpool were restricted to lead, for which Liverpool was becoming the principal market in England, and small quantities of calamine and agricultural produce. Increasingly during the latter part of the century, Liverpool supplied Chester with commodities from overseas. Individual cargoes in the 1770's had the range and variety of goods which had characterised shipments from London since the 1660's. In contrast to the London trade, which was conducted in large ships making a limited number of runs to Chester each year, the Liverpool trade was handled by a small number of small coasters, which made frequent voyages between the Mersey and the Dee.

3. Trade with Bristol.

In the eighteenth century Chester shipped lead and calamine to Bristol. Previously, there had been no systematic trade between the two ports. The cargoes of lead were generally between 50 and 100 tons each. In return for the lead and calamine, Bristol supplied manufactured goods, particularly glass and ironmongery, tobacco, wine, cider and fruit. Occasionally Irish hides and skins were shipped to Chester.

4. Trade with Wales.

The trade with Wales grew from very small proportions at the beginning of the seventeenth century into an important part of the City's trade. The principal commodity shipped to the Welsh ports was coal. This was mainly sent to Beaumaris, Caernarvon, Conway, Holyhead and Pwllheli. Some shipments were also made to ports in central Wales, in spite of competition from coal shipped from South Wales. This coasting trade in coal was handicapped in the eighteenth century by customs duties. Chester also shipped a variety of manufactured goods, foodstuffs, raw materials, and foreign and colonial goods which frequently had been imported from London and Liverpool and then reshipped in smaller coasting craft. This function as a supply centre for North Wales increased during the two centuries in spite of increasing competition from Liverpool. Many ships from Chester for North Wales carried a variety of goods intended to supply local retailers with all their needs. In return, Chester received agricultural produce, including cereals, butter, bacon, cheese, hides and skins; fish, timber, slates and lead and copper ores. Conway shipped wheat, oats, oak timber (in particular for the lead mines and for shipbuilding), and, sometimes, lead ore. Caernarvon and Beaumaris shipped large quantities of slates, especially after about 1680; Holyhead and Pwllheli sent farm produce, and Aberdovey

and Aberystwyth shipped lead ore occasionally. Fish, mainly herrings, and sheepskins were important small exports from the ports of North Wales in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. On the whole, the trade with Wales was of small dimensions, increasing gradually up to about 1800 and generally conducted in small ships, the larger ones generally being those carrying the very varied consignments to Beaumaris and Caernarvon.

5. Trade with Lancashire (excluding Liverpool) and Cumberland.

In the early seventeenth century, Chester shipped foreign and Irish goods, agricultural produce and manufactured articles to Poulton, Lancaster, Ravenglass, Piel Fowdrey, Workington and Whitehaven, in return for herrings, sheep-skins and wool. Chester and Liverpool had had a tradition of sending a few, small ships to Cumberland at the fishing season, laden with salt, iron and inferior quality wine.(I) The trade did not expand in the second half of the seventeenth century or later, principally because these ports developed large trade connections for themselves, with Ireland (i.e. Whitehaven), or overseas (i.e. Lancaster), but they were never in a position of supplying Irish or colonial goods to Chester. In the middle of the eighteenth century, small quantities of iron ore were received regularly from Piel Fowdrey.

(I) Calendar, State Papers Domestic, Addenda, 1566-79, p.

6. Trade with southern and eastern England.

Apart from the trade with London and Bristol, Chester had very slight trade connections with English ports between the Bristol Channel and the Humber. Shipments of tobacco pipe-clay were made from Bideford and Poole. In times of need corn was shipped from south-east England and East Anglia, but Chester lacked goods to ship back to these ports. As a consequence the incoming shipments were more numerous at these times than the outgoing, which was not a usual aspect of the coasting trade.

The absence of Port Books for the last quarter of the eighteenth century makes it impossible to delineate the details of the changes in the pattern of trade at that time. The Irish trade was declining and Chester was becoming predominantly a port in the coasting trade. Pennant acquired details of the number of shipments in the coasting and Irish trades from the customs officials.

NUMBERS OF SHIPMENTS IN THE COASTING AND IRISH TRADES[I]

AT CHESTER 1776 TO 1796.

	1776	1786	1796
Coasting vessels entered inwards	208	241	206
" " " outwards	619	454	402
Vessels from Ireland entered inwards	140	48	32
" to " " outwards	104	103	51

At the close of the century, the coasting trade was the main branch of Chester's maritime trade.

(I) T. Pennant, Tours, vol 3. p. 280.

CONCLUSION

The most important element in the trade of Chester was the trade with Ireland. It remained important until the close of the eighteenth century, although the coasting trade, which had grown from very small proportions after 1600, had employed more ships, some very small, during the century. The overseas trade was at its relatively, highest importance from 1600 to 1640, when it was in the hands of the Meere Merchants, and chiefly concerned with goods produced in the City and required for the City. Later the foreign trade, dependent on lead as a principal export, was less firmly attached to the commerce of the City.

The important questions are, to what extent did Chester fail as a port? and why did it fail? The decline was largely relative. The amount of trade in the late eighteenth century was much more than it had been two hundred years before, but relative to the country as a whole, Chester had sunk to insignificance. The River Dee had undoubtedly been a very important factor in this decline. The citizens had made considerable efforts to improve the Navigation, but they had failed. The state of the Dee, however, was only one factor among many, which produced the decline of the Port.

The character of the City and the citizens was apparently

unsuitable for the expansion of trade. The City Companies remained a restraining influence on trade and industry until well into the eighteenth century. The Companies were prepared to fight for their own interests, as for example, the Tanners in the early eighteenth century, but they wanted the privileges and advantages of commerce in the hands of a selected few: this was not the environment for the entrepreneur, especially in the seventeenth century. Later, when conditions in the City were more relaxed, industrial competition from elsewhere in northern England, and maritime competition from Liverpool, were too great. In addition, the City lacked geographical advantages for the growth of industries which could have become a driving force to overcome the difficulties of the Navigation, in particular the shortage of sources of power and of raw materials.

Furthermore, the hinterland was small and lacked unity; and Chester was an unsatisfactory focus for the area's trade. We have repeatedly referred to the concentration of the salt trade upon Liverpool, the traffic of Flintshire coal and lead without passing through the City, and the encroachments of Liverpool upon the cheese trade. The actual lack of concentration within the Port area was very important. Saltney Marsh long remained a natural obstacle between the City and the mineral tract, in addition to which there was the barrier of

language. Chester did not have a large Welsh-speaking community. The speaking of Welsh in the streets of Chester was less usual than in many border towns. The City was more closely tied to the agricultural, English-speaking part of the hinterland. The passenger traffic was concentrated on the Cheshire side of the Dee, but road communications with Neston and Parkgate remained poor until the late years of the eighteenth century. Chester failed, in fact, to have close contact with its outports.

These shortcomings of the City and the hinterland precluded sufficient driving force to overcome the competition from neighbouring ports and the difficulties of the Dee Navigation. The river was a primary problem to overcome, and the City was unable to do this.

The lack of balance between outgoing and incoming shipments, brought about by the bulk cargoes of coal, lead and cheese being exported, and the number of ships returning in ballast, which was jettisoned into the river, was a serious factor in the decay of the Navigation. We have emphasised how the Cattle Acts stopped the importation of largw numbers of livestock which were brought from Ireland in returning coal boats, and robbed the Port of an important incoming bulk cargo. The state of the River Dee, in fact, not only affected the trade of the City, but the trade also affected the state of the river. This influence of the trade upon the river is significant.

APPENDICES.

I. Port Books for Chester (excluding those for member ports, and all unfit for production, or so badly damaged as to be unusable, or possessing a cover only). Classified P.R.O. E.190.

The detailed catalogue in the Public Record Office does not extend beyond 1700.

	Coast Books.			Overseas Books.
	Lady & Mid.Qtrs.	All year.	Mich. & Xmas Qtrs.	All year.
1600	-	-	-	1327/28
1601	-	1324/12	-	-
1603	-	1328/20	-	1328/20
1605	-	-	-	1328/14
1606	-	1329/1	-	1329/9
1612	-	1330/5	-	-
1614	-	-	-	1330/11
1615	-	-	-	1330/14
1620	-	1332/3 (incoming only)		1332/1
1623	-	1333/1	-	-
1630	-	1334/11	-	-
1632	-	-	-	1334/12, 1334/18
1634	-	-	-	1335/1
1639	-	-	-	1336/3
1641	-	1337/6	-	1336/12
1673	-	1339/11	-	-
1674	-	1339/19	-	-
1675	-	1340/3	-	-
1676	-	1340/11	-	-
1677	-	-	-	1340/17
1679	-	1341/12	-	-
1680	-	1342/8	-	1342/10
1681	-	-	-	1343/3, 1343/4, 1344/9
1682	-	-	-	1344/6, 1344/13
1683	-	1345/17	-	1345/1, 1345/16
1684	-	-	-	1346/1
1685	-	-	1347/7	1346/12
1686	1348/10	-	-	1348/1, 1348/9
1687	-	1349/1	-	1349/11
1688	-	1349/13	-	-
1689	-	1350/6	-	-

	Coast Books			Overseas Books
	Lady & Mid.Qtrs.	All year.	Mich.& Xmas.& qtrs.	All year.
1691	-	1351/6	-	-
1692	-	-	1351/23	-
1693	1351/16	-	1352/3	-
1694	1352/4	-	1353/5	-
1695	1353/7	-	1356/21	1353/9, 1354/5, 1354/13
1696	1356/18	-	1358/16	1355/2, 1355/4, 1358/10
1697	-	-	1359/18	1357/2, 1357/4
1698	1359/24	-	-	1359/1, 1359/12, 1360/12
1699	-	-	1361/5	1360/1
1700	1361/6	-	-	1361/18
1701	1362/7	-	1363/11	1362/1
1702	1363/4	-	-	1363/1, 1363/2, 1364/5
1703	1364/10	-	1365/7	-
1704	1365/1	-	-	1365/13
1705	1366/9	-	1369/1	1366/5, 1367/6
1706	1369/3	-	1370/5	1369/6, 1369/10
1707	-	-		1370/1, 1371/7, 1371/8
1708	1372/13	-	1374/9	1372/11,1372/14,1373/14
1709	1375/7	-	1376/1	1374/8, 1375/12,1377/1
1710	-	-	1379/8	1376/12,1377/2
1711	1378/5	-	-	-
1712	1380/12	-	-	1379/4, 1382/1
1713	1382/4	-	1384/5	1381/1, 1383/2, 1384/1
1714	1387/8	-	-	1386/7
1715	-	-	1387/3	1388/1, 1389/1, 1391/1
1716	1390/8	-	1391/5	1390/7, 1391/3, 1391/4
1717	1393/4	1392/3 (outgoing only)	-	1392/3, 1409/11
1718	-	1394/1	-	1394/8, 1395/16
1719	1388/3	-	1396/9	1396/1, 1396/8, 1397/10
1720	1399/7	-	-	1398/8
1721	-	1400/1	-	1400/10,1400/3
1722	1402/14	1400/9	-	1402/8, 1402/9
1723	1403/6	-	1403/10	1403/4, 1403/15
1724	1404/10	-	1404/11	1404/13,1434/14
1725	1405/8	-	-	1405/10
1726	1406/1	-	1406/2	1406/7, 1406/8
1727	-	-	-	1407/8, 1407/9
1728	-	-	1408/4	-
1729	1408/9	-	1409/2	1408/7, 1409/3
1730	1409/5	-	-	1409/4
1739	-	-	1413/10	1413/2, 1413/5, 1413/11
1740	-	-	1414/11	1414/8
1741	1414/7	-	-	1415/7, 1415/8

	Coast Books			Overseas Books
	Lady & Mid.Qtrs.	All year.	Mich.& Xmas qtrs.	All year.
1742	1415/10	-	1416/1	1415/4, 1415/5
1743	1416/8	-	1417/13	1417/2, 1417/4
1744	1417/8	-	-	1417/6, 1418/3
1745	-	-	1419/10	1419/3, 1419/6
1746	1419/1	-	1420/2	1420/6, 1420/10, 1420/13
1747	1420/8	-	1421/1	1420/12,1421/5
1748	-	-	1422/1	1422/2, 1422/4
1749	1422/5	-	1423/9	1423/7, 1423/10
1750	1424/6	-	-	1423/12,1424/4, 1424/10
1751	1425/6	-	1425/3	1424/5, 1424/11, 1425/7
1752	-	-	1426/9	1426/5, 1426/10
1753	-	-	1427/4	1426/1, 1427/3, 1427/4
1754	1427/7	-	1428/5	1428/2, 1428/4
1755	1429/2	-	-	1429/1, 1429/4, 1429/11
1756	1430/8	-	1430/5	1429/5, 1429/6, 1429/13
1757	1430/2	-	1431/9	1430/4, 1431/8
1758	-	-	-	1431/1, 1432/11
1759	-	-	1433/6	1432/10,1433/3, 1433/5
1760	1433/1	-	1434/7	1434/1, 1434/8
1761	-	1435/6	-	1435/8
1762	-	1436/1	-	1436/6
1763	1437/13	-	-	1436/8
1764	-	-	1367/13	1437/5
1765	1438/2	-	1438/4	1438/1, 1438/3
1766	1438/6	-	1439/4	1438/7
1767	1439/2	-	1439/7	1439/1, 1439/3
1768	1439/6	-	1440/2	1439/5, 1439/8
1769	1440/3	-	1440/9	1440/1, 1440/5
1770	1440/7	-	1440/12	1440/4, 1440/6, 1440/8
1771	1440/11	-	-	1440/10,1442/2
1772	-	-	1441/3	1441/1, 1441/4
1773	-	-	1442/5	1441/2, 1441/5
1774	1442/3	-	-	1442/1, 1442/4, 1442/5

Books of the Collector of New Impositions. E.190

1615	1331/4
1618	1331/13
1620	1332/10
1623	1333/2
1628	1333/14
1630	1334/7 and 1334/9
1631	1334/15
1633	1335/3
1634	1335/4

IIA FOREIGN TRADE 1620 E.190 1332/1

(i) Outgoing Shipments

Date	Name of Ship	Burden in tons	Destination.	Cargo.
Dec. 29	Providence	70	Bilbao	Tanned calf-skins, beans.
Jan. 27	Exchange	50	San Sebastian	Tanned calf-skins, gloves.
Feb. 19	Margaret	80	Bordeaux	Tanned calf-skins, korseys, beef, buttor.
Apr. 4	) ?	120	Rochelle	Coal.
" 20	Charity	-	"	Tanned calf-skins, korseys, household goods.
" 25	Mayflower	-	-	Tanned calf-skins.
May 29	Providence	70	Danzig	Skins, coney-skins, morkins.
June 2	Margaret	100	Bilbao	Tanned calf-skins.
Sept.16	Providence	-	Bordeaux	Tanned calf-skins, korseys, lead.
Oct. 19	Exchange	40	Bilbao	Tanned calf-skins.
Nov. 14	Godspeed	35	"	" "
" 28	Providence	70	Bordeaux	" "
Dec. 13	Mayflower	-	-	" "

(ii) Incoming Shipments

Jan. 22	Margaret	80	Bordeaux	Gascony wine, vinegar, prunes, paper, resin.
Feb. 18	Mayflower	25	Bilbao	Spanish iron, Spanish wool.
Mar. 7	William& Thomas	120	Cadiz	Sack, figs.
" 7	Charity	56	Bordeaux	Gascony wine, vinegar, prunes.
Apr. 20	Providence	70	Bilbao	Spanish iron, Spanish wool, liquorice.
May 19	Margaret	95	Bordeaux	French wine, vinegar.
" 22	Exchange	40	San Sebastian	Spanish iron.
Sept. 2	Providonco	70	Danzig	Flax, spruce, pitch, cordage, sturgeon, steel.
Oct. 17	Mayflower	20	Lisbon	Spanish salt, sugar, ginger, cinnamon.
Nov. 13	Providence	70	Bordeaux	Gascony wine, prunes.
Dec. 16	Desire	100	"	Gascony wine.

II B Foreign Trade 1700 E. 190. 1361/18

(i) Outgoing Shipments.

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo.
December 30	Tiger	Lisbon	Tanned hides, tanned calf-skins.
January 3	Happy Return	Rotterdam	Welsh plain cloth
February 1	Pearl Galley	Oporto	Lead
February 16	Orange-flower	Lisbon	Tanned hides, tobacco pipes, coal.
May 18	Happy Return	Rotterdam	Lead ore
July 5	Pearl	Rotterdam	Lead, lead ore, haberdashery
July 10	Adventure	Rotterdam	Lead ore
September 16	Pearl Galley	Canary Islands	Tanned hides, beeswax, tobacco pipes, earthenware.
October 26	Elizabeth	Rotterdam	Lead, lead ore
December 10	Prosperous	Rotterdam	Lead ore.

(ii) Incoming Shipments.

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
December 27	Pearl Galley	Malaga	Raisins, figs, wine
December 29	Orange-flower	Cadiz	Figs, raisins, olives, chocolate, wine.
February 19	(?)	Lisbon	Wine, oranges, lemons
March 28	Happy Return	Rotterdam	Flemish-made pots, oak boards, clover seed, German, Holland & British linen, Rhenish wine
April 2	Mary	Bilbao	Wine, brandy, cork-wood, iron
May 6	Providence	Virginia	Tobacco
May 8	Pearl Galley	Oporto	Wine, oranges, lemons
May 13	Wheel of Fortune	Lisbon	Oranges, lemons, matting.

Date		Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
May	17	Blessing	Rotterdam	Flemish-made pots, iron wire, backs for chimneys, ordinary printing paper, wainscot boards.
June	27	Providence	Virginia	Tobacco
July	16	Ruby	Virginia	Tobacco
July	23	Friendship	Jamaica	Muscovado sugar, log-wood
July	31	Dolphin	Virginia	Tobacco
August	20	Rebecca Galley	Leghorn	Copperas, almonds, Portugal oil, salad oil, copper, anchovies, Spanish vinegar, quorn stones.
September	4	Happy Return	Rotterdam	Rhenish wine, oak boards, earthenware, Holland linen, drapery.
October	2	Wheel of Fortune	Bordeaux	Prunes, resin, cork-wood
October	5	Adventure	Rotterdam	Earthenware, iron pots, iron backs for chim-neys, melting pots for goldsmiths, pantiles, madder.
October	29	Pearl	Bergen	Norway deals
December	24	Love's Increase	Lisbon	Lemons, orangos, matting
December	24	Henrietta	Rotterdam	Oak boards, madder.

II C FOREIGN TRADE 1770 E. 190 1440/4.

(i) Outgoing Shipments.

Date		Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo.
January	8	Samuel & Lydia	Bordeaux	Lead
January	26	Parkson	Bordeaux	Lead
January	26	Good Intent	Rotterdam	Load ore
January	26	Commerce	Bordeaux	Lead, load ore
February	3	Ann	Ancona	Lead
February	15	Benjamin & Lydia	Havre de Grace	Lead
February	15	Polly	Rochefort	Lead, load ore
February	27	Unity	Marseilles	Load, load ore
March	19	Townsend	Leghorn	Load
March	28	Little-Dick	Marseilles	Load, load ore
March	28	William	Newfound-land	Lead
April	11	Sincerity	Havre de Grace	Lead
April	14	Grafton	Marseilles	Lead, load ore
April	14	Scorpion	Venice	Lead, litharge
April	16	Love & Unity	Rochefort	Lead
April	18	Mary & Ann	Marseillos	Load, load ore
May	16	Elizabeth	Havre de Grace	Lead
May	17	Providence	Rochefort	Lead, litharge
June	1	Ostrich	Marseilles	Load, leather
June	9	Friendship	Rochefort	Lead
June	16	Earl of Chester	Ostend	Lead ore
July	2	Fortune	Venice	Lead, litharge
July	9	Three Brothers	Bordeaux	Lead
July	16	Adventure	Rotterdam	Load, load ore
July	22	Success	Bordeaux	Lead ore
July	23	Bachelor	Rotterdam	Lead ore
August	2	Elizabeth	Havre de Grace	Lead ore
August	31	Thomas	Havre de Grace	Lead, litharge

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo.
September 7	Good Intent	Marseilles	Load ore, litharge
September11	Judith & Mary	Honflour	Load
September20	Friendship	Lisbon	Load
November 7	Hope	Havre de Grace	Load

(ii) Incoming Shipments.

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
Jan. 23	Lord Grosvenor	Oporto	Portugal wine, cork, onions, shumack, lemons, orangos.
April 6	Susannah	Lisbon	Portugal wine, lemons orangos.
June 2	Lord Grosvenor	Oporto	Portugal wine, cork, shumack.
June 6	York	Malaga	Spanish wine, raisins almonds.
June 22	Ludovicus Rudolphus	Longsound	Deals, handspikes, oars, boat hooks.
July 9	Nancy	Riga	Deals, balks, clapboards, wainscot.
Aug. 4	Antelope	Riga	Wainscot, clapboards fir timber, deals, lathwood, small spars.
Aug. 13	Ludovicus Rudolphus	Longsound	Balks, fir timber, middle masts, deals.
Aug. 18	Lady Margaret	Christiania	Deals, handspikes, boat hook staffs, oars, handscoops.
Oct. 8	William	Boston	Cod liver oil, whale oil, Sperma ceti oil, train oil, oak planks pig iron, bar iron, pipe-staves, deal planks, spars for masts.
Nov. 6	Robert	St.Petersburg	Hemp, tow, flax, unwrought iron, mats.
Nov. 16	Betty & Peggy	Leghorn	Lamb-skins, slinks, kid-skins, silk waste, white marble, salad oil, Parmesan cheese, anchovies, old rags to make paper.

III A TRADE WITH IRELAND MICHAELMAS QUARTER 1620
E.190 1332/1

(i) Outgoing Shipments.

Date	Name of Ship	Bur-don	Destination	Cargo.
June 28	Sara	20	Dublin	Buttons, Spanish wool soap, trenchers, frioze, flannel, cloth, (1) glass, hats.
July 1	Margaret	20	Dublin	Horses girdles, spades, cloth, bays, apparel, woollen & kersey stockings.
July 3	Andrew	-	Dublin	Cloth, silk.
July 3	Hopewell	10	Dublin	Sea coal
July 4	(?)	6	Dublin	Cloth, sea coal, damask.
July 5	Harry	30	Dublin	Sea coal, nails.
July 5	Grace	30	Dublin	Sea coal, cloth, hops, wrought iron.
July 5	Exchange	20	Dublin	Sea coal, hops, sugar.
July 6	(?)	8	-	Sea coal.
July 6	Mary	8	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 6	Trinity	20	Dublin	Nails, knives, leather, broadcloth, cloth, bed-ticks, apparel, house-hold goods, Norwich stuff, fustian.
July 11	(?)	20	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 15	Ellen	20	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 17	Vine	30	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 17	John	-	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 17	Hopewell	10	Nowry	Sea coal, soap, lead, cloth.
July 17	Gift of God	7	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 18	Mary	20	Dublin	Cloth, wearing apparel, linen.
July 22	Elizabeth	20	Dublin	Sea coal.

(I) In this section only, "cloth" includes small quantities of a wide variety of types of cloth. Individual shipments in this Port Book were frequently less than 10 yards of cloth. The Port Book entries contain numerous entries for 2 or 3 yards at a time.

Date	Name of Ship	Bur-den	Destination	Cargo.
July 22	Goodspeed	26	Dublin	Sea coal, salt buttons, cheese, cloth, fustian, household goods, books, apparel, linen, Scotch cloth, steel fish hooks, woollen stockings, broadcloth.
July 22	Bonaventure	10	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 22	Margaret	10	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 27	Robert	-	Dublin	Apparel & linen.
July 28	(?)	40	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 28	Gift of God	12	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 29	Dootch(of Amsterdam)	40	Dublin	Sea coal
July 29	Sara	20	Dublin	Sea coal, apparel, household goods, cloth.
July 29	Margaret	20	Dublin	Sea coal.
July 29	Nicholas	12	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 4	Bartholomew	20	Dublin	Sea coal, apparel, linen, soap.
Aug. 4	Margaret	20	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 4	John	20	Dublin	Sea coal, cloth.
Aug. 7	Mayflower	30	London-derry	Frieze, gloves, madder, cheese, sugar, aquavita.
Aug. 12	Harry	20	Dublin	Cloth.
Aug. 14	Ellen	20	Dublin	Cloth, linen, apparel, gunpowder.
Aug. 14	James	10	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 15	Bonaventure	10	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 15	Edward	30	Dublin	Apparel, linen, household goods.
Aug. 18	Mary John	8	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 19	Gift of God	14	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 19	Harry	20	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 19	Mary Ann	6	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 21	Mary John	30	Dublin	Sea coal, apparel, woollen stockings, household goods.
Aug. 21	Vine	30	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 22	Grace	30	Dublin	Apparel, iron, liquorice, cloth, sugar.
Aug. 22	Trinity	20	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 25	Robert	30	Dublin	Sea coal.
Aug. 29	Margaret	16	Dublin	-
Aug. 29	Nightingale	20	London-derry	Lead, steel, cloth, broad-cloth, apparel,(contd.over-leaf)

Date	Name of Ship	Bur-den	Destination	Cargo.
Aug. 29	Nightingale (contd.)			household goods, nails, paper, cloth, broadcloth, salt, aquavita, soap, currants.
" 31	Exchange	50	Dublin	Sea coal, cloth, paper, steel, paint, knives, woollen stockings, broadcloth.
Sept. 2	Mary	20	"	-
" 4	Bonaventure	12	"	Sea coal.
" 4	Mary	10	"	" " , cloth.
" 4	Gift of God	6	"	" "
" 4	"	14	"	" "
" 4	"	10	"	" "
" 4	(?)	10	"	" "
" 4	(?)	40	"	" "
" 5	Grace	10	"	" "
" 6	Harry	20	"	Sea coal, silk, cloth, broadcloth.
" 13	(?)	12	"	Sea coal.
" 13	Grace	8	"	" "
" 14	Ellen	20	"	" "
" 15	Margaret	20	"	" " , salt.
" 15	Elizabeth	20	"	" "
" 15	Vine	30	"	" "
" 16	Bartholomew	-	"	" " , cambric, Holland linen, hops, cloth.
" 16	Grace	8	Strang-ford	Sea coal, lead ore.
" 20	Sara	20	Dublin	Linen, cloth, stockings, broadcloth, apparel, hops.
" 20	Nightingale	5	Carrick-fergus	Cloth.
" 25	William	18	"	"
" 27	Mary	20	Dublin	Apparel.
" 27	Mary	30	"	Cloth, broadcloth.
" 28	Primrose	-	"	Hops, household goods, iron, apparel, cloth.
" 28	Sunday	10	"	Cloth, apparel.

(ii) Incoming Shipments.

Date	Name of Ship	Bur-den	Place of Origin	Cargo.
June 30	Ellen	20	Ireland(I)	Sheep-skins.
July 1	Harry	20	"	Blankets, morkins, tallow, candles, oil.
" 3	Gift of God	8	"	Horses, morkins.
" 3	"	10	Dublin	Cattle, linen yarn.
" 3	Trinity	20	"	Blankets, raisins.
" 3	Hopewell	10	"	Horses, morkins, oats.
" 3	Grace of God	10	Ireland	Cattle.
" 3	Elizabeth	30	Dublin	Blankets, sheep-skins, tallow, kid-skins.
" 5	Margery	20	"	Sheep-skins, morkins, wool, blankets, kid-skins.
" 5	George	8	Ireland	Cattle.
" 5	William	10	"	Sheep-skins.
" 5	Mary	-	"	Checkars, blankets.
" 6	Catherine	6	"	Cattle.
" 6	Mary	6	Dublin	"
" 6	Mary	20	"	"
" 10	Mary	30	London-derry	Linen yarn, wool, morkins, hides, kips.(2)
" 12	Bonaventure	12	Douglas	Cattle.
" 12	Hopewell	14	"	Sheep-skins, morkins, wool, train oil,(3) malt.
" 18	John	8	Dublin	Cattle.
" 18	Vine	30	"	"
" 18	Gift of God	8	"	"
" 22	Sunday	16	Ireland	Barley.
" 22	William	20	"	Oats.
" 22	Margaret	10	Culrott	Sheep.
" 27	Robert	30	Dublin	Blankets, aquavita.
" 28	Gift of God	12	"	Cattle.
" 28	John	16	"	"

(I) The Port of Origin is not always indicated in the Port Book. Where the nature of the cargo i.e. Irish cattle, or Irish blankets, indicates the shipment was from an Irish port, a general reference to Ireland is made in this list.
(2) Kips; inferior quality hides.
(3) Train oil, cod oil from Newfoundland.

Date	Name of Ship	Bur-den	Place of Origin	Cargo.
July 28	(?)	12	Dublin	Cattle.
Aug. 14	Primrose	20	London-derry	Linen yarn, tallow, beef.
" 15	Harry	30	Dublin	" "
" 17	(?)	20	"	Tallow, cow-hides.
" 18	Robert	30	"	Morkins, tallow, wool, kid-skins.
" 18	Mary	8	"	Cattle, nags.
" 21	Grace	20	London-derry	Hides, kips, tallow.
" 25	Gift of God	8	Dublin	Cattle.
" 25	Margaret	10	"	"
" 25	Gift of God	10	"	"
" 28	Margaret	15	Douglas	Manx cattle.
" 28	Vine	30	Dublin	Cows.
" 30	Lyon	12	Ireland	Linen yarn, tallow, butter.
Sept. 1	Gift of God	20	Dublin	Cattle, linen yarn.
" 7	Grace of God	18	"	"
" 7	Bonaventure	11	Ireland	"
" 7	Mary	10	"	" , nags.
" 7	(?)	10	"	"
" 7	Nightingale	-	"	"
" 12	-	13	"	"
" 12	Speedwell	-	"	"
" 12	Gift of God	-	Dublin	"
" 12	-	12	"	"
" 16	Vine	30	"	"
" 16	William	18	"	"
" 18	Hopewell	12	"	"
" 18	Edward	10	"	"
" 20	John	40	"	Nags.
Oct. 4	Goodspeed	12	"	Blankets, rugs.
" 4	Trinity	20	"	Candles, morkins, linen yarn.
" 4	Margery	20	"	Tallow.

III B TRADE WITH IRELAND. MICHAELMAS QUARTER 1680
E.190 1342/10

(i) Outgoing Shipments.

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo.
June 25	Friendship	Ireland	Coal
" 25	HappyReturn	"	Haberdashery, hops, horses, short cloth, fustian, calicoes, nails, iron, brass manufactures, thrown silk, silk manufactures, scythe stones, wool,buckram, frying pans, canes, apothecary wares, trenchers, popper, sugar, worsted hose, saddles, Yorkshire cushions, wool cards, liquorice, worsted stockings, sheep leather gloves.
" 25	Charity	"	Coal.
" 25	Liverpool Merchant	"	"
" 26	Elizabeth	"	Lanthorns, wrought iron, leather manufacturos, haberdashery, tow cards, paper, tobacco pipes, earthenware, pepper, sugar, gunpowder, nails, powter starch, raisins, salt, cork, nutmegs.
" 28	Anne	"	Coal.
" 30	Roodeye	"	Haberdashery, thrown silk, silk manufactures.
" 30	Katherine	"	Coal.
" 30	Swan	"	Cork, short shovels, iron, horses, printed books, short cloth, hops, silk manufactures, Holland linen.
July 1	Myriam	"	Iron, leather, calicoes, Norwich stuff, tobacco, paper, drugs, gauls, thrown silk, fustians, glue, liquorice, hops,
" 2	Ann	"	Girth web, bridles, haberdashery, thrown silk, silk manufactures, casters, short cloth,

(tobacco pipes, redwood, currants, hops, raisins, brass manufactures, logwood, glue, cheese, drugs, hardware, liquorice, wrought iron, leather manufactures.

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo.
July 2	Merchant of Larne	Ireland	Norwich stuff, haberdashery, wrought iron, nails, bellows, tobacco pipes, steel, hops, scythe stones, silk manufactures, thrown silk, earthenware, calicoes, brass manufacture, fustian, hat cases, hats, pewters, men's woollen hose, parchment, muslin, leather manufactures, looking glasses, dressing boxes, canes, raisins, liquorice, canvas whips, drugs, anvils, lead, glue, lanthorns, nutmegs, leather gloves, hair sieves, periwigs.
" 2	Marygold	"	Coal.
" 5	Lamb	"	Haberdashery, wrought iron, girth web, calicoes, casters, fustian, "bodyes", gowns, candy, buckram, Germany linen, men's wool hose, silk manufacture, nails, steel, horses, barber's aprons, fans, "powder for clothes", thread & twist, silk, thrown silk, short cloth.
" 5	Happy Entrance	"	Coal, wrought iron, casters, thrown silk, horses, paper, wool, gloves, worsted hose, silk manufactures, scythe stones, drugs.
" 6	Mayflower	"	Coal.
" 6	Grace Dogger	"	Horses, short cloth, casters.
" 6	Maryflower	"	Coal.
" 7	Marygold	"	"
" 8	Downes	"	Rough flag stones.
" 8	Darwin Swan	"	Coals, horses.
" 8	Prosperous	"	"
" 9	Providence	"	"
" 9	Dolphin	"	"
" 9	Samuel	"	"
" 12	Ormond Doggor	"	Horse, silk manufacture, Norwich stuff, flannel, furniture, globes.
" 12	Anne	"	Coal, Norwich stuff, silk manufacture, lawns.
" 12	Victory	"	Rough flag stones.

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo.
July 12	Peter & John	Ireland	Rough flag stones, coal.
" 13	Chester Merchant	"	Haberdashery, sealing wax, tobacco, hops, load shot., castors, silk manufactures, thrown silk, hardware, Norwich stuff, gloves, pewter, wrought iron, brass manufactures, horses, men's worsted hose, men's & children's wool hose, sacking, books, hard wax.
" 13	Diligence	"	Coal.
" 14	Blessing	"	Coal, salt,lead,cheese,brass manufactures, wrought iron, double bays, gold & silver thread, horses, silk manufactures, thrown silk, powder,horns.
" 14	Providence	Isle of Man	Wrought iron, fustick, leather manufactures, brass manufactures, pepper, tow cards, earthenware, soap, starch, lead.
" 15	Grace	Ireland	Horses, sacking, nails, drugs, flannel, earthenware, haberdashery, baskets, leather manufactures, girth web, short cloth, frieze.
" 15	Charity	"	Coal.
" 17	Bonadventure	"	"
" 19	Antelope	"	"
" 19	Diamond		"
" 19	Unicorn	"	"
" 20	Three Brothers	"	"
" 20	Advance	"	"
" 22	James	"	Thrown silk, cambric, silk manufacture, Holland linen.
" 22	Adventure	"	Coal.
" 23	Charles	"	Coal, haberdashery, Norwich stuff, apothecary wares, silk manufactures, sugar, casters. (I)
" 23	Philip & Mary	"	Coal.
" 23	Godspeed	"	"

(I) Casters; hat made of beaver fur or intended to be taken as such.

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo.
July 23	Roodeye	Ireland	Coal, thrown silk, flannel, printed books, cambric, casters, haberdashery, leather gloves, glass, looking-glasses, hops, cheese, garden seeds, copper, linen, silver thread, apothecary wares, wrought iron, canes, brass manufactures, girth web, men's worsted hose, Norwich stuff, silk manufactures, short cloths, salt, horses, calicoes.
" 24	Lamb	"	Coal.
" 24	Little John	"	Tobacco, haberdashery, Holland linen, cochineal, seeds, apothecary wares, drugs, earthenware, nails, girth web, liquorice.
" 26	Ann & Sarah	"	Coal.
" 26	Truelove	"	Coal, silk manufactures, thrown silk.
" 26	Unity	"	Coal.
" 26	Diamond	"	"
" 27	Happy Entrance	"	" , horses.
" 27	Handmaid	"	"
" 28	Anne	"	"
" 28	Blessing	"	" , white salt.
" 29	Abraham	"	Aquavita, cheese, earthenware, butter.
" 29	Elizabeth	"	Coal.
" 30	Friendship	"	"
" 30	Happy Return	"	"
Aug. 2	Victory	"	"
" 3	Katherine	"	"
" 4	Happy Return	"	Coal, shovels, wrought iron, silk manufactures, tobacco, apothecary wares, haberdashery, casters, thrown silk, gold & silver thread, saffron, hardwax, hops, earthenware, printed books, drugs, linen, linseed oil, spirits of brandy.
" 4	Marygold	"	Coal.
" 4	Mary	"	"
" 4	Downes	"	"

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo.
Aug. 6	John Baptist	Ireland	Coal.
" 7	Satisfaction	"	"
" 8	Lamb	"	Coal, silk manufacture, printed books, boards, earthonware, drugs, thrown silk, muslin, haberdashery, tobacco, horses.
" 9	Unicorn	"	Coal.
" 9	Peter & Jack	"	Rough flag stones.
" 10	Seahorse	"	Coal, silk manufactures, goats hair, wrought iron, Norwich stuff, casters.
" 11	Advance	"	Coal.
" 11	Chester Merchant	"	Silk manufactures, thrown silk, printed books, apothecary ware, coal.
" 11	Happy Entrance	"	Coal, silk manufactures, playing tables, haberdashery, drugs, globes, printed books, apothecary wares, short cloths, brass manufactures, gold & silver thread, horses, hair-sieve bottoms, Kidderminster stuffs, linseed oil, lampblack, hops, frieze, short cloths, pepper, oatmeal, lead shot, lead ore, anvils, Norwich stuff.
" 13	Matthias	"	Coal.
" 13	Anne	"	"
" 13	Francis & Mary	"	"
" 18	Blessing	"	"
" 19	Happy Entrance	"	Lead, garden seeds, matting, horses, silk manufactures, Norwich stuff.
" 19	Richard & Mary	"	Coal.
" 19	Advance	"	Coal, haberdashery, silk manufactures, wrought iron, thrown silk, tobacco, silver, calf-skins, men's worsted hose, Norwich stuff, Yorkshire cushions, leather manufactures.

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo.
Aug. 19	John	Ireland	Coal.
" 19	Pearl	"	"
" 19	Hopewell	"	"
" 21	Industry	"	"
" 23	Truelove	"	"
" 23	Joseph	"	"
" 25	Adventure	"	"
" 25	Nightingale	"	"
" 27	Diligence	"	"
" 28	Bonaventure		"
" 30	Providence	"	"
" 30	Blessing	"	"
" 31	Anne & Sarah	"	"
Sept. 1	Deborah	"	"
" 2	Neptune	"	"
" 2	Diamond	"	"
" 2	Victory	"	"
" 4	Elizabeth	"	"
" 6	Mayflower	"	"
" 6	Mary	"	"
" 6	Endeavour	"	"
" 6	Lamb	"	"
" 7	Friendship	"	"
" 7	Three Brothers	"	"
" 7	Marygold	"	"
" 7	Anne	"	"
" 7	Mary	"	"
" 7	Unity	"	"
" 7	John	"	"
" 9	Seahorse	"	"
" 9	Downes	"	"
" 10	Happy Return	"	Coal, hops, hides, haberdashery, wrought iron, nails, books, whips, blowinghorns, tobacco, Yorkshire Cushions, argol,(I) short cloth, men's worsted hose, men's wool hose, saffron, drugs, cheese, casters, silk manufactures, leather gloves,Norwich stuff.

(I) Argol; unrefined or crude tartar, used by dyers to fix colours.

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo.
Sept.14	Chester Merchant	Ireland	Coal, lead, short cloth, anvils, wrought iron, cordage, drugs, hard wax, silk manufactures, casters, haberdashery, hops, gloves, tobacco, thrown silk, Norwich stuff, silver thread.
" 16	Unicorn	"	Coal.
" 16	Liverpool Merchant	"	"
" 17	Loves Increase	"	"
" 22	Charles	Dublin	Coal, apothecary wares, hops, nails, haberdashery, silk manufactures, lead, gold & silver lace, whips, brass manufactures, wrought iron, anvil, short cloths, Yorkshire cushions.
" 22	Content	Ireland	Coal.
" 23	Lyon	"	"
" 23	Antelope	"	"
" 24	Satisfaction	"	"
" 27	Providence	"	"
" 28	Goodspeed	"	"
" 28	Adventure	"	"
" 28	Diamond	"	"
" 28	Victory	"	"
" 28	Marygold	"	"
" 30	Dove	Dublin	Hops, flannel.
" 30	Industry	"	Coal.
" 30	Nightingale	"	"
Oct. 1	Handmaid	"	"
" 2	Mary	"	"
" 2	Bonadventure	"	"
" 4	Industry	"	Coal, haberdashery, Norwich stuff, buckram, thrown silk, shortcloth, fustian, silk manufactures, English sacking, oatmeal, wrought iron brass manufactures.
" 5	Charity	"	Coal.

(ii) Incoming Shipments.

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
June 25	Ormond Dogger	Dublin	Horses.
" 25	Swan	"	Sheep.
" 25	Liverpool Merchant	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 26	Happy Return	"	Molasses.
" 26	Advance	"	Linen cloth.
" 26	Seahorse	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 26	Success	"	" "
" 26	Pearl	Ireland	" "
" 26	Goodspeed	"	" "
" 26	Katherine	"	" "
" 30	Marygold	"	" "
July 2	Grace Dogger	"	Stag-skins, coney-skins, fox-skins, horse-skins, badger-skins.
" 5	Ormond Dogger	"	Horses.
" 5	Deliverance	"	Cattle, horse.
" 5	Gift	"	"
" 5	John	"	"
" 5	Joseph	"	Tallow, linen-yarn, goat-skins, coarse wool stockings, rugs, linen cloth.
" 5	Welcome	Dublin	Cattle, sheep.
" 5	Happy Return	"	" "
" 5	Samuel	"	Cattle, sheep, Norway deals.
" 5	Supply	Ireland	"
" 5	Swan	Dublin	" sheep, horses,
" 6	Mayflower	"	Cattle, sheep, linen yarn, Norway deals, frieze.
" 6	Good Intention	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 6	Little John	London-derry	Linen yarn, goat-skins, tallow.
" 6	Merry	Dublin	Cattle.
" 6	Society	"	"
" 6	Unity	"	"
" 6	Ann & Sarah	"	"
" 6	Olive branch	"	", sheep.
" 7	Marygold	Ireland	".

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
July 7	Love's Increase	Dublin	Cattle, sheep, horses.
" 7	Zebulon	"	Sheep, horse.
" 7	Downes	Ireland	Cattle.
" 8	Prosperous	"	Cattle, Norway deals.
" 9	Antelope	Dublin	Cattle, sheep.
" 9	Unicorn	"	"
" 9	Lyon	"	Horses, cattle, sheep.
" 9	Bonaventure	"	"
" 10	Blessing	Ireland	Sheep.
" 10	Providence	Isle of Man	Manx cattle, kid-skins, calf-skins, sheep-skins, goat-skins, horses, feathers for beds, coney-skins, prunes, steel.
" 10	Exchange	Dublin	Horse, linen cloth.
" 10	Thomas	Ireland	Sheep.
" 10	Pearl	"	"
" 10	Neptune	Dublin	Cattle, sheep.
" 12	Victory	Ireland	Sheep.
" 12	Grace Dogger	"	Fox-skins, otter-skins, mole-skins.
" 12	Love's Increase	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 12	Peter & John	"	Cattle, sheep, tobacco.
" 13	Dove	"	Horses, linen cloth, feathers for beds.
" 14	Matthias	"	Cattle, sheep.
15	Mary	Dublin	" "
" 15	Friend-ship	Ireland	" "
" 15	Grace	"	Horses, frieze.
" 17	Mary	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 20	Three Brothers	Dublin	" " horse.
" 20	Advance	Ireland	Sheep.
" 21	Mayflower	"	Horses.
" 22	Elizabeth & Judith	"	Sheep.
" 22	Friendship	"	Sheep, horse.
" 22	Charles	"	Cattle.
" 22	Adventure	"	Cattle, sheep, linen cloth.
" 22	Increase	"	Lambskins.
" 23	Lamb	"	Sheep, horses, cattle.
" 23	Welcome	"	Cattle, horses.

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
July 23	Leopard	Ireland	Cattle, sheep.
" 23	Goodspeed	"	Sheep.
" 23	Roodey	"	Cattle, sheep, Norway deals.
" 23	Supply	"	Sheep.
" 23	Fortune	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 23	Little John	"	Tanned cowhides.
" 23	Grace	"	Horses.
" 24	Ann	"	"
" 26	Happy Entrance	"	Linen cloth, sheep.
" 26	Truelove	"	Sheep.
" 26	Unity	"	"
" 26	Diamond	"	Cattle, sheep, horse.
" 27	Elizabeth	"	" "
" 27	Hope	"	" "
" 27	Gift	"	" "
" 27	Handmaid	"	Sheep.
" 27	Three Brothers	"	"
" 28	Ann	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 28	Blessing	"	Sheep.
" 29	John	"	"
" 30	John	"	Lamb-skins, sheep, sheep-skins.
" 31	Swan	"	Sheep.
" 31	Happy Return	"	Sheep, linen cloth.
Aug. 2	Victory	"	"
" 2	Lamb	"	Stag and coney-skins, frieze, cattle, sheep.
" 2	Zebulun	"	Cattle, sheep, horse.
" 3	Success	"	" "
" 3	Mary	"	" " , horse.
" 3	Catherine	"	" "
" 4	Happy Return	"	Sheep.
" 4	Marygold	"	Cattle.
" 4	Mermaid	"	Sheep
" 4	Peter & John	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 4	Downes	"	" "
" 5	Grace	"	Horses, usquebagh.
" 5	Pearl	"	Sheep.
" 5	Diligence	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 5	John Baptist	"	" "
" 6	Neptune	"	" "
" 6	Assistance	"	Cattle, sheep, hoops for coopers.

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
Aug. 6	Swan	Ireland	Horses, lamb-skins, kid-skins, Norway deals, beef, linen cloth, frieze, buck-skins, goat-skins, soap, cow-hides, usquebagh, butter.
" 7	Goodspeed	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 9	Chester Merchant	"	" "
" 9	Unicorn	"	Cattle, sheep, horses.
" 10	Portsmouth Yacht	"	Usquebagh, frieze.
" 10	Seahorse	"	Cattle, sheep, horses.
" 10	Prosperous	"	" "
" 10	Advice	"	" "
" 10	Advance	"	" "
" 10	Happy Entrance	"	" "
" 10	Supply	"	"
" 10	Lawrell	"	" sheep.
" 10	Darwin Swan	"	" "
" 10	Delight	"	" "
" 12	Friendship	"	" "
" 13	Anne	"	" "
" 13	Bonadventure	"	Sheep.
" 13	Francis & Mary	"	"
" 13	Loves Increase	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 13	Love's Increase	"	"
" 13	Good Intent	"	"
" 13	Lamb	"	"
" 13	Goodspeed	"	"
" 14	Blessing	Dublin	Frieze, usquebagh, cattle, sheep.
" 16	Grace	Ireland	Horses, linen cloth, Portugal wine.
" 17	Mary	"	Cattle.
" 18	Liverpool Merchant	Dublin	Cattle, sheep.
" 18	Neptune	Ireland	" "
" 18	Pearl	"	" "
" 18	Happy Entrance	"	Linen cloth, cattle, sheep, horse.
" 18	Blessing	"	Cattle.
" 18	Truelove	"	Frieze, sheep.
" 19	Brethren's Love	"	Cattle, sheep.

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
Aug. 19	Richard & Mary	Ireland	Cattle, sheep.
" 19	Hopewell	"	" "
" 19	Abraham	"	Sheep.
" 19	John	Dublin	"
" 19	Joseph	Ireland	"
" 23	Anne & Sarah	"	"
" 23	Neptune	Dublin	Cattle, sheep.
" 25	Providence	"	Raw hides.
" 25	Adventure	Ireland	Sheep, cattle.
" 28	Grace	Dublin	Linen cloth, coarse Irish woollen hose, dry sheep-pelts, buck-skins, frieze, neat's tongues, usquebagh.
Sept. 1	John	Ireland	Sheep, cattle, horse.
" 1	Elizabeth	"	Sheep.
" 2	Eager	"	Sheep, salt hides.
" 2	Advance	Dublin	Usquebagh.
" 2	Lamb	Ireland	Sheep.
" 3	Diamond	Dublin	Cattle, sheep.
" 3	Unicorn	"	" "
" 4	Providence	"	Sheep.
" 4	Thomas	Ireland	"
" 4	Seahorse	"	Horses, linen cloth, buck-skins, lamb-skins.
" 6	Roodey	"	Horses, lamb-skins, sheep-skins, buck-skins, goat-skins, coarse Irish wool hose.
" 6	Success	"	Sheep.
" 6	Diligence	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 6	Charity	"	Sheep.
" 6	Catherine	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 6	Amity	"	Cattle, sheep, frieze, linen cloth.
" 6	Hope	"	Cattle, sheep, horse.
" 6	Advice	"	" "
" 6	Zebulun	"	" "
" 6	Swan	"	" "
" 6	Bonaventure	"	" "
" 6	Unity	"	" "
" 6	Charles	"	" " , frieze.
" 6	Lyon	"	Cattle.
" 6	Happy Return	"	"
" 6	Humility	"	"
" 6	Chester Merchant	"	Cattle, lamb-skins, sheep-skins, linen yarn.

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
Sept. 6	Endeavour	Ireland	Cattle, frieze, linen cloth.
" 6	Three Brothers	"	Sheep.
" 6	Handmaid	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 6	Mary	"	" "
" 6	Lamb	"	" "
" 6	Welcome	"	" "
" 6	Diamond	"	" "
" 7	Friendship	Dublin	" "
" 7	Three Brothers	Ireland	" "
" 7	Nightingale	"	Sheep.
" 7	Love's Increase	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 7	Mary	"	" "
" 7	Unity	"	" "
" 7	Mayflower	"	" "
" 7	Happy Entrance	"	" " , frieze.
" 7	Anne	"	" "
" 7	Gift	"	" "
" 7	Neptune	"	" "
" 7	Marygold	"	" "
" 7	Mary	"	Cattle.
" 8	Downes	"	"
" 9	Peter & John	"	" , sheep.
" 9	Assistance	"	" " , horse.
" 9	Lawrell	"	" "
" 9	Unicorn	"	" "
" 9	Happy Return	"	" " frieze.
" 11	St.John Baptist	"	Cattle.
" 11	Lamb	"	" sheep.
" 11	John	"	" "
" 14	Grace Dogger	"	Frieze.
" 16	Jacob	"	Horses, linen cloth.
" 16	Satisfaction	"	Sheep.
" 20	Love's Increase	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 20	Good Intention	"	" "
" 25	Merchant of Larne	"	Linen cloth, beeswax, butter, wheel spokes, tallow candles.
" 25	Elizabeth of Larne	"	Coney-skins, tallow, linen yarn, goat-skins, dog-skins, linen cloth, lamb-skins, tallow, butter, beef.
" 25	Happy Entrance	"	Horses, frieze.

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
Sept.27	Lamb	Ireland	Cattle, sheep, soap, otter-skins, fox-skins.
" 27	Industry	"	Cattle, sheep, lamb-skins, deals.
" 27	Advance	"	Cattle, sheep, sheep-skins, neat's tongues, barrel-staves.
" 27	Mary	"	Cattle.
" 27	Vanity	"	Cattle, sheep, horse.
" 27	Industry	"	"
" 27	Providence	"	" sheep.
" 28	St.John Baptist	"	" horse.
" 27	Bonadventure	"	"
" 28	Goodspeed of Droghoda	"	"
" 28	Goodspeed of Whitehaven	"	"
" 28	Adventure	"	" sheep.
" 28	Pearl	"	Sheep, horses.
" 28	Hopewell	"	Cattle.
" 28	James	"	Linen cloth, tallow, lamb-skins, coney-skins, horses, cow-hides, sheep-skins.
" 28	Diamond	"	Cattle, sheep, horse.
" 28	Victory	"	Cattle.
" 28	Swan	"	"
" 28	Charles	Isle of Man	Manx cattle, train oil of the sort of Newfoundland, made in the Isle.
" 28	Pro (?)	"	Manx cattle, fish oil of the sort of Newfoundland, beef.
" 28	Nightingale	Ireland	Cattle, sheep, friezo, linen cloth.
" 28	Dove	"	Cattle.
" 28	Assistance	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 28	Neptune	"	" "
" 28	Deliverance	"	" "
" 30	Bonaventure	"	Linen cloth, horses, clap-boards.
" 30	Darwin Swan	"	Sheep.
Oct. 1	Exchange	"	Friezo, usquebagh.
" 2	Samuel	"	Cattle.
" 2	Anne	"	Cattle, sheep.
Oct. 4	Unity	"	" "

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
Oct. 4	Society	Ireland	Cattle, sheep.
" 4	Advice	"	" "
" 4	Lyon	"	Cattle.
" 4	Supply	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 4	Benjamen	"	Cattle.
" 4	Joseph	"	"
" 5	Matthias	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 5	Friendship	"	" "
" 5	Amity	"	" "
" 5	Three Brothers	"	" "
" 5	Hope	"	" "
" 5	Gift	"	Cattle.
" 5	John	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 5	Charity	"	Cattle.
" 5	Friends Adventure	"	Cattle, sheep.
" 5	Happy Return	"	Cattle.

TRADE WITH IRELAND

III C Michaelmas Quarter 1700 E. 190 1361/18

(i) Outgoing Shipments.

Date	Ship	Destination	Cargo.
June 25	Diamond	Dublin	Silk manufactures, gold & silver fans.
" 25	Fortune of Elizabeth	Wicklow	Coals, horses.
" 25	Unity	Dublin	Walnut timber.
" 25	Society	"	Gold & silver lace & fans, haberdashery, silk manufactures, lead, paper, bellows, iron, iron anvil, printed books, walnut timber.
" 26	Love's Increase	"	Coal, lead.
" 26	Yacht	"	Leather bags, periwig hair, lace.
" 28	Mary Transport	"	Horse, coal, thrown silk, silk manufactures, gold & silver lace, copper, iron, printed books, stool, copper thread, apothecary wares.
" 28	Mary Gold	"	Horses.
July 1	Recovery	"	Coal.
" 4	Grape	"	Coal, earthenware, nails, iron, glass, apothecary ware, haberdashery, books, hops, horses.
" 4	Joseph	Droghoda	Coal.
" 5	Loyal Merchant	Dublin	Earthenware, lead, coal, iron.
" 9	Nightingale	Dublin	Coal.
" 9	Blessing	"	White salt.
" 9	Owner's Endeavour	"	Coal, horses, hops, paper.
" 10	Ormond Galley	"	Coal.
" 15	Edgar	"	"
" 16	Morning Star	"	"
" 19	Margaret	Dundalk	"
" 26	Marygold	Dublin	"

Date	Ship	Destination	Cargo.
July 27	Amity	Dublin	Wrought iron, wrought iron whools, coal, hops, printed books, horses, silver laco, copper thread, silk manufactures, haberdashory, apothecary ware.
" 29	Truelove	"	Coal, oak bark, gold & silver lace, silk manufactures, indigo, haberdashory.
Aug. 3	Royal Merchant	"	Horse.
" 5	Jamos	"	Coal.
" 6	Loyalty	"	"
" 7	Nightingale	"	"
" 8	Grove	Wexford	"
" 9	Elizabeth	Dublin	Load, silk manufactures, horse, coal.
" 12	Francis	Wicklow	Coal.
" 13	Prosperous	Dublin	Coal, printed books, hardware, hops, wrought iron, gold & silver laco, silk manufactures, leather gloves, fans, haberdashery.
" 13	Providence	"	Coal.
" 14	Mary	Wicklow	Coal, wrought iron, hops, haberdashery, silk manufactures, glass, earthenware, copper thread.
" 16	Mary Transport	Dublin	Muslins, gold & silver lace, silk manufactures, thrown silk, silver ribbon, hops, haberdashery.
" 17	Morning Star	"	Coal.
" 21	Loyalty	"	"
" 22	Ruby	"	"
" 22	Sarah	Drogheda	"
" 22	Jane & Margaret	Dublin	"
" 22	Sam & Margaret	Drogheda	"
" 23	Morning Star	Dublin	"
" 24	Felicity	"	"
" 26	Denbigh Galley	"	"
" 26	Truelove	"	"
" 28	Society	"	Coal, lead shot, wrought iron, bellows, gold & silver lace, lead, horses, haberdashery, hops, silk manufactures.

Date	Ship	Destination	Cargo.
Aug. 31	Ormond Galley	Dublin	Coal.
Sept. 5	Phoenix	"	Earthenware, nails, hops, wrought iron, paper, horse.
" 6	Nightingale	"	Coal.
" 6	Jane & Margaret	"	"
" 10	Ann & Jane	"	"
" 10	Mary Transport	"	Hops, tobacco pipes, gold & silver lace, books, pictures, silk Manufactures, wrought iron, habordashery, horses, earthenware.
" 13	Diamond	"	Hops, tobacco pipes, silk manufactures, haberdashery, printed books, thrown silk, iron.
" 14	Expedition	"	Coal.
" 16	Concord	"	Coal, horse.
" 16	Pearl Galley	"	Leather, beeswax, tobacco pipes, earthenware, silver lace, tobacco.
" 16	William & Mary	"	Coal.
" 16	Patience	"	"
" 17	Phoenix	"	Coal, hops, silk manufactures, printed books, fans, earthenware, hops, gold & silver lace.
" 18	John	Cork	Coal.
" 19	Crown	Dublin	"
" 19	Nightingale	Dublin	Earthonware, lead.
" 23	Loyalty	"	Coal.
" 25	Ellen	Wexford	"
" 26	Patience	Dublin	"
" 27	George	"	"

(ii) Incoming Shipments

Date	Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
June 25	Yacht	Dublin	Usquebagh.
" 25	Elizabeth	"	Linen cloth, linen yarn, lamb-pelts, tanned sheep-skins, raw calf-skins, horn tips, usque-bagh.

Date	Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
July 1	Ormond Galley	Dublin	Horn tips.
" 8	Recovery	"	Linen cloth.
" 8	Nightingale	"	Horse.
" 8	Mary Transport	"	Frieze, usquebagh, horses, linen cloth.
" 17	Grape	"	Linen yarn.
" 22	Diamond	"	Linen cloth, lamb-skins, bay yarn, sheep-pelts, woollen stockings.
" 24	Orange-flower	Cadiz	Lamb-skin gloves, lemons, oranges.
" 26	Expedition	Dublin	Horses, usquebagh.
Aug. 3	Society	"	Lamb-skins, horses, buck-skins, goat-skins, linen cloth, lamb-pelts, usquebagh.
" 7	Nightingale	"	Linen cloth.
" 10	Mary Transport	"	Linen cloth, horse, frieze, usquebagh.
" 12	Morning Star	"	Linen cloth, sheep-pelts.
" 19	Adventure	Norway	Deals.
" 19	Ormond Galley	Dublin	Linen cloth, usquebagh, herring barrels of Irish timber.
" 22	Grape	"	Horses, linen cloth.
" 26	Royal Merchant	"	Linen cloth, frieze, lamb-skins.
" 29	Owner's Endeavour	"	Lamb-pelts, horse, usque-bagh.
Sept. 3	Yacht	"	Linen cloth.
" 6	Mary Transport	"	Usquebagh, linen cloth, frieze, horse.
" 7	Amity	"	Usquebagh, frieze, lamb-skins, horn tips, calf-skins, linen cloth.
" 13	Expedition	"	Linen cloth, Portugal wine, lamb-skins, calf-skins, frieze, sheep and lamb-pelts.
" 24	Prosperous	"	Frieze, linen cloth.

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III D Michaelmas Quarter 1770 E. 190 1440/4.

(i) Outing Shipments

Date	Ship	Destination	Cargo.
July 6	Unity	Dublin	Coal.
" 6	Blyth Ann	"	"
" 7	Edward	Wexford	"
" 9	Flora	Dublin	"
" 9	Two Sisters	"	"
" 10	Mayflower	"	"
" 10	Mary	"	"
" 12	John	Wexford	"
" 12	Hibernia	Dublin	"
" 12	Mary	Wexford	"
" 13	Diamond	Dublin	"
" 17	Commerce	"	"
" 18	Royal Oak	"	"
" 18	Barnard	Strangford	"
" 18	John	"	"
" 20	Michael	Wexford	"
" 20	Robert & David	Newry	"
" 21	Smith	Dublin	"
" 21	Nonpareil	"	"
" 23	Britannia	"	Load.
" 23	Triumvirate	Droghoda	Coal.
" 23	Happy Return	Wicklow	"
" 23	Mary	Newry	"
" 25	Pretty Polly	Dublin	"
" 28	Malaga Packet	Bordeaux	Load.
" 31	Martha	Wexford	Coal.
" 31	Mayflower	Dublin	"
" 31	Friendship	Wexford	"
" 31	Alexander	Dublin	"
Aug. 1	Avoca	Newry	Lead.
" 3	Nancy	Dublin	Coal.
" 3	Venus	"	"
" 4	Edward	Wexford	"
" 6	King George	Dublin	Lead.
" 6	Diamond	"	Coal.
" 6	Blyth Ann	Newry	"

Date	Ship	Destination	Cargo.
Aug. 7	Alexander	Dublin	Lead.
" 8	Jenny	Wexford.	Coal.
" 8	Hawk	Newry	"
" 9	Peggy	Ross	"
" 10	Flora	Dublin	"
" 11	Mary	"	"
" 11	Britannia	"	"
" 14	Robert	Wexford	"
" 14	Hibernia	Dublin	"
" 16	Richard	Wexford	"
" 16	Dennis	"	"
" 16	Ann & Mary	Dublin	"
" 20	Smith	"	"
" 20	Happy Return	Wexford	"
" 25	Nonpareil	Dublin	Coal, lead.
" 25	King George	"	Coal.
" 28	Jenny	Wexford	"
" 28	Elizabeth	Dublin	"
" 29	Edward	Wexford	"
" 31	Mary	Newry	"
Sept. 1	Venus	Dublin	"
" 1	Kildare	"	"
" 4	Diamond	"	"
" 4	Charming Polly	Wexford	"
" 4	John	"	"
" 4	Pretty Polly	Dublin	"
" 6	Grace	Drogheda	"
" 8	Three Brothers	Cork	"
" 8	Nancy	Dublin	"
" 11	Margaret	"	"
" 13	Hibernia	"	"
" 14	Dennis	Wexford	"
" 15	Mary & Jane	Waterford	"
" 17	Britannia	Dublin	"
" 18	Frank & Mary	Wexford	"
" 21	Massey	Dublin	"
" 24	Alexander	"	"
" 25	William	Wexford	"
" 27	Jenny	"	"
Oct. 2	Saint Michael	"	"
" 5	Elizaboth	Dublin	"
" 6	Venus	"	"
" 8	Friendship	Wexford	"
" 9	Alexander	Dublin	Lead

(ii) Incoming Shipments.

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo.
July 6	Nonpareil	Dublin	Linen cloth, tallow.
" 6	King George	"	Linen cloth.
" 19	Hibernia	"	Glue.
" 30	Elizabeth	Drogheda	Oxbones & hoofs, Russian wrought iron.
" 31	Smith	Dublin	Linen cloth.
" 31	Alexander	"	" "
Aug. 1	Britannia	"	" "
" 11	Smith	"	" "
" 20	King George	"	Tallow, lamb-skins, slink-skins.
" 23	Grace	Cork	Lamb-skins, bay yarn.
" 27	Three Brothers	"	Lamb-skins, slink-skins, glue, tallow, bacon, bay yarn, linen cloth.
Sept. 1	Pitt	Dublin	Tallow, lamb-skins- slink-skins, lamb-pelts; glue, feather beds, cow-hides.
" 10	Britannia	"	Linen cloth.
" 24	King George	"	Linen cloth, unbound books.
Oct. 5	Hope	Newry	Limestones.
" 6	Kildare	Dublin	Linen cloth.
" 8	Britannia	"	Linen cloth, cow-hides.

IVA Coasting Trade Christmas 1622 to Christmas 1623
E 190. 1333/1

(i) Outgoing shipments

Date		Name of Ship.	Burden	Destination	Cargo
Feb.	4	Unicorn	12	Preston	French wine, prunes beer, soap, resin
"	10	Amitie	12	Beaumaris	French wine, beer iron.
"	10	Nightingale	12	Ravenglass	Nails, gunpowder, sugar, hops, aquavita, molasses, paper, tobacco pipes
"	11	Swallow	10	Milnthorpe	Oats, peas, beans.
"	20	Margery	6	Preston	French wine.
"	22	Catherine	8	Beaumaris	Salt, hops, cheese.
"	25	Margaret	18	Warrington	Oats
"	26	Mary	10	Piel Fowdrey	Peas, beans, oats wheat, beer.
"	26	Michael	6	Piel Fowdrey	Oats, peas, beans, wheat, beer.
Mar.	4	Elizabeth	-	Lancaster	French wine.
"	12	Edward	5	Liverpool	Coal
"	26	Swallow	5	"	Lead ore.
April	1	Unicorn	10	Preston	Beer, vinegar.
"	4	Margaret	8	Beaumaris	White salt.
"	5	Speedwell	-	Portdinllaen	Soap, copperas, iron, salt, linen, hops, paper, logwood, tobacco pipes.
"	8	William	10	Beaumaris	Iron, salt, crates, soap, cartwheels, curds, beer.
"	11	Mary	8	-	Salt herrings.
May	20	Edward	6	Preston	French wine, vinegar, beer.
"	23	Jane	10	Liverpool	French wine.
"	31	Catherine	10	Bangor	Salt, soap, spikes, nails.
June	7	Mary	-	Portdinllaen	Salt
"	7	Richard	-	"	Salt, beer

Date		Name of Ship.	Burden	Destination	Cargo
June	14	Margaret	6	Beaumaris	Rye, tanned hides,
"	18	Mary	9	Piel Fowdrey.	Barley, wheat.
"	26	Margaret	6	"	Iron wares, beer, rye, oats, starch, resin
July	15	Swallow	30	Liverpool	Malt
"	18	Unicorn	-	Preston	Gascony wine, cork, beer, sheepskins, pitch, tar, starch, Raisins, vinegar, soap.
"	19	Jane	8	Liverpool	Gascony wine
"	24	Mary	5	?	Oats, starch
"	30	Davy	10	Beaumaris	Herrings, soap, copperas, small beer, nails, salt, household goods.
"	30	Mary	6	Beaumaris	Iron, salt, candles, vinegar
"	31	Willow	6	Caernarvon	Salt
"	31	Margery	10	Formby	Salt, corn
Aug.	1	James	6	Caernarvon	Haberdashery, salt
"	1	Nightingale	12	Ravenglass	Grocery wares, copperas, cheese, household goods
"	14	Unicorn	16	Beaumaris	Malt, vinegar
"	20	Michael	-	Caernarvon	Salt, empty barrels and casks
"	20	Charity	6	"	Salt
"	28	William	10	Portdinllaen	Salt, soap, candles, grocery
Sept.	3	Jane	6	Liverpool	French wine, cork salt
"	3	Sunday	16	Portdinllaen	Salt, baskets, iron, coal, household stuff bricks, apparel
"	15	Suum (of Amsterdam)	60	Barnstaple	Malt, madder
Oct.	13	Willow	10	Beaumaris	Iron, wine, hops, currants, cheese, saltry
"	15	Harry	10	Preston	French wine, prunes, vinegar, aquavita, soap

Date	Name of Ship	Bur-den	Destination	Cargo
Oct. 20	Angel	-	Holywell	Cork, hops, flax, empty barrels
Nov. 13	Mary	-	Caernarvon	Pitch, grocery wares, candles, hardware.
" 16	Mary	18	Piel Fowdrey	Wine, cheese, beer
" 16	Harry	10	-	White herrings
" 16	William	10	Beaumaris	Candles, beer, steel, bricks.
Dec. 12	Diamond	-	Liverpool	?
" 15	Willow	-	Liverpool	Iron, steel.
" 18	Minivy	36	Dartmouth	Coal, butter, cheese.
" 23	Jane	16	Poole	Coal.

(ii) Incoming shipments.

Date	Name of Ship	Bur-den	Port of Origin	Cargo
Jan.	Edward	6	Liverpool	Morkins, woolfells, oak boards
Feb. 6	Swallow	4	Liverpool	French wine
" 7	Jane	6	Liverpool	French wine
" 9	Elizabeth	2	Whitehaven	Woodfells
" 10	Mary	10	Liverpool	Herrings
" 20	Jane	6	Whitehaven	Fish
" 26	Mary	10	Barrowhead	Iron
Mar. 7	Mary	10	Beaumaris	Herrings, cheese, butter
" 8	John	6	Liverpool	Herrings, codfish
" 14	Banfield	30	London	Flax, grocery wares, copperas, pitch, aquavita, beer, soap, Spanish wine
May 17	Nightingale	14	Ravenglass	Wool, woollen cloth
July 7	?	50	London	Malt
" 8	Henry	20	Chichester	Malt
" 8	William & John	30	London	Soap, grocery wares, Spanish wine, molasses Castile soap, flax, stone bottles, pitch, tobacco pipes, aquavita.

Date	Name of Ship	Bur-den	Port of Origin	Cargo
July 26	Hopewell	10	Barnstaple	Barley, rye
" -	William	6	Liverpool	Fells, morkins, rough fells,
Aug. 2	Luke	6	Liverpool	Fells, sheep-skins, morkins, pelts,
" 2	Edward	6	Liverpool	Rough fells,morkins, sheep-skins
" 16	Hastepost	100	Beaumaris	Rye
Sept.15	Gift of God	14	Liverpool	Malt
" 17	Shirley	6	"	Woolfells, skins, morkins.
" ?	Pearl	30	?	Malt
Oct. 6	Grace of God	30	London	Soap, grocery ware, Castile soap, madder, pitch, tar, Haberdashery, aqua-vita, beer, alum, copperas, Spanish wine, flax
" 13	Harry	15	Liverpool	Iron
Nov. 14	William	-	Beaumaris	Butter, cheese
Dec. 1	Minivy	36	Dartmouth	Cider, perry, train oil
" 8	Joan	30	London	Flax, grocery wares, Castile soap, aqua-vita, pitch, tar, madder, soap
" 10	Margery	-	Barrowhead	Herrings
" 10	Mary	-	Piel Fowdrey	Herrings

IV B. Coastal Trade Ladyday and Midsummer Quarters
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(i) Outgoing Shipments

Date	Ship	Destination	Cargo
Jan. 2	Friends Goodwill	London	Cheese, lead, tanned hides and calf-skins, bottles of ale
" 11	Hopewell	Lancaster	Portugal wine
" 12	Adventure	London	Lead, tanned calf-skins, cheese, wax.
" 26	Speedwell	Caernarvon	Coal, culm.
" 27	Concord	Bristol	Lead, starch
" 29	Submission	Beaumaris	Culm, salt
" 29	Mayflower	"	Coal, tobacco pipes, groceries
Feb. 1	Rose	"	Coal, culm, iron
" 9	Mayflower	Liverpool	Moulds, iron pots, steel, household goods
" 9	Two Sisters	"	Lead ore, lead, butter, cheese, oak boards, ale.
" 15	Jane	Conway	Coal, culm
" 16	Ann and Mary	Liverpool	Lead ore
" 26	Diamond	"	Raisins, figs, lemons, oranges
" 28	Hopewell	Aberystwyth	White refined salt
Mar. 7	Mayflower	Conway	Culm
" 11	Prosperous	London	Spanish wine
" 13	Success	Beaumaris	Coal, culm
" 14	Dublin Merchant	Bideford	Lead ore, cheese, earthenware, bacon, fustian, baskets.
" 14	Speedwell	Caernarvon	Coal
" 19	Dove	Bristol	Lead
" 26	Mayflower	Liverpool	Raisins
" 27	Crown	Plymouth	Planks, lead, cheese, tobacco pipes
" 27	Mathias	Liverpool	Limestones, coal
" 30	Submission	Beaumaris	Coal
Apl. 9	Benediction	Beaumaris	Tobacco, soap, alum, sugar, logwood, paper, strong waters, oil, tobacco pipes, earthen-ware, wrought iron, grocery ware, nails, molasses, frying pans,

Date	Ship	Destination	Cargo
	Benediction (continued)		bellows, copperas, hops, iron, tanned hides, leather, iron pots, steel, hard bisketts, iron grates, rope, tiles, vinegar, long brushes, horse collars, sciddles, hair cloth, prunes, tar, flax, hemp, glass, pitch, turpentine, lampblack, raisins, white lead, wine chair frame, steel, apples, cords.
Apr. 9	Success	Conway	Culm, charcoal
" 10	Two Brothers	Beaumaris	Culm, coal
" 10	Diamond	Liverpool	Lead, lemons, oranges, flax, hemp
" 12	Pearl	Beaumaris	Culm, coal, flagstones
" 13	Primrose	"	Coal
" 15	Betty	London	Cheese, Spanish resin, old brass, old household goods
" 24	William and Jane	Beaumaris	Coal, culm
" 26	Ann and Margaret	Liverpool	Lead Ore
" 27	Mayflower	Aberdovey	Coal, culm
May 8	Happy Adventure	Bristol	Lead, cheese
" 11	Success	Conway	Coal, culm
" 11	Pearl	Beaumaris	" "
" 13	Happy Return	Caernarvon	Coal, culm, tobacco, vinegar, molasses, aniseed, lead shot, glass, tobacco pipes, earthenware
" 14	Hannah	London	Cheese, bacon
" 16	Jane	Conway	Coal, culm
" 17	Mary	London	Cheese, capers
" 18	Mayflower	Conway	Coal, culm
" 18	Submission	Beaumaris	" "
" 21	Endeavour	Holyhead	" "
" 21	Diamond	Liverpool	White and red wine
" 27	Mary	Beaumaris	Coal
June 3	Success	Holyhead	Coal, culm
" 5	Thomas and Jane	Conway	" "
" 5	Mayflower	Bangor	Coal, culm, iron, soap, earthenware, pots, tobacco

Date		Ship	Destination	Cargo
June	7	Kirby	Lancaster	Coal
"	7	Primrose	Beaumaris	Coal, Oaken boards
"	7	Love's increase	Pwllheli	Coal, culm
"	8	Adventure	Conway	Culm
"	8	Diamond	Liverpool	Portugal wine, Spanish wine, lemons, oranges
"	10	Lyon	Caernarvon	Coal, culm, salt.
"	12	Greyhound	Liverpool	Lead ore, lead
"	17	Diligence	Caernarvon	Coal
"	18	Elizabeth	Liverpool	Oak planks
"	22	Crown	Beaumaris	Coal, culm.

(ii) Incoming Shipments.

Date		Ship	Port of origin	Cargo
Dec.	29	William	Beaumaris	Slates
"	30	Two Sisters	Liverpool	Rock salt
"	30	Ursula	"	" "
Jan.	15	Mayflower	Beaumaris	Slates
"	15	Hopewell	Liverpool	Barley
"	26	Diamond	Liverpool	Tobacco, Spanish wine, Swedish iron
"	26	Mayflower	Liverpool	Wheat, Barley, iron, Virginia tobacco
"	26	Rose	Beaumaris	Herrings, cheese, butter,
Feb.	3	Two Sisters	Liverpool	Rock salt, iron
"	8	Matthias	"	" " "
"	9	Dublin Merchant	Bideford	Tobacco pipe-clay, earthenware
"	12	James	Liverpool	Malt, Spanish iron
"	15	Hopewell	"	Malt
"	23	Diamond	"	Tobacco, muscovado sugar, iron, English refined sugar
"	28	Betty	London	Soap, spirits, linen, vinegar, beer, pitch, tar, linseed, oilmen's wares, household goods, paper, oranges, saltry ware, grocery, rugs, hats, syrup.
"	29	Seaflower	London	Saltry, iron, paper, linen, drapery, grocery, tobacco.

Date	Ship	Port of origin	Cargo
Mar 8	Mayflower	Beaumaris	Slates
" 11	Ellen	Lancaster	Oatmeal, malt, beans, butter, woollen cloth.
" 12	Owner's Adventure	Milford	Barley, wheat, pilcorne, oats, rye, red and white herrings
" 12	Providence	Liverpool	Pitch, tar, Virginia tobacco, tanned calfskins, iron, beans.
" 14	Hopewell	Caernarvon	Deal boards, wearing apparel, and old household goods, herrings, bacon, cheese, butter.
" 20	Elizabeth and Sarah	Liverpool	Spanish wine, brandy, vinegar
" 23	Matthias	Liverpool	Rock salt
Apl. 9	Jane	Caernarvon	Slates
" 9	Diamond	Liverpool	Tobacco, tar, pitch, refined sugar, ginger, currants.
" 15	Hannah	London	Spanish wine, fuller's earth, flax, earthenware, malt, saltry, cork, oilmen's wares, soap, apothecary ware, household goods, grocery linen
" 16	Providence	Liverpool	Malt, barley, peas
" 24	Mayflower	Beaumaris	Oats
May 8	Sarah	Poulton	Millstones
" 10	Prosperous	London	Haberdashery, paper, soap, saltry, deals, oilmen's wares, colouring, household goods, grocery
" 10	Submission	Beaumaris	Slates, old iron, white herring
" 11	Hopewell	Aberdovey	Lead ore
" 15	Concord	Bristol	Bottled cider, wine lees
" 15	Happy Return	Caernarvon	Slates
" 20	Mayflower	Bangor	Slates, oats
" 20	Diamond	Liverpool	Tobacco, refined sugar, tar, ale, chest of drawers, stools.

Date	Ship	Port of origin	Cargo
May 20	Benediction	Caernarvon	Pewter, linseed, horse hair horns
June 3	Friend's Good-will	London	Soap, saltry, hardware, paper, copperas, flax, tobacco, oilmen's wares, household goods, spirits, vinegar, grocery, pitch, tar
" 3	Crown	Plymouth	Hilling stones, deals, cider, Newfoundland train oil, Newfoundland fish, grocery, lemons, cordage
" 4	Mayflower	Beaumaris	Slates
" 5	Love's increase	Liverpool	Iron
" 5	Primrose	Caernarvon	Butter, cheese, slates old pewter
" 7	Diamond	Liverpool	Canary Wine, vinegar, grocery, tobacco, linen spirits, potashes, refined sugar, soap, calf-skins, French resin, pitch, tar, Norway deals, Virginia tobacco
" 10	Happy Return	Caernarvon	Hilling stones
" 14	Crown	Bideford	Barley, peas, garden seed, earthenware
" 19	Happy Adventure	Bristol	Sherry, lemons, cider

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(i) Outgoing Shipments

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo
Jan. 9	Thomas	Liverpool	Bacon, lead, lead ore
" 12	Flying Fish	Beaumaris	Coal, earthenware
" 15	Liverpool Trader	Liverpool	Lead, iron guns, oil, charcoal, woodenware, empty casks
" 18	Tryal	Conway	Coal
" 20	Grace	"	"
" 24	Peggy	Caernarvon	"
" 27	William and Jane	London	Lead, household furniture, sweetmeats, table linen, potatoes, cheese, beds, bedsteads, linen, chair, post chaise wheels, empty casks
" 27	Hannah	Caernarvon	Coal
" 27	Richard	Liverpool	Lead, lead ore, clay, paper, cast iron grate, iron wire
" 27	Charlotte	London	Cheese, leather, bottled beer, empty casks, lead
" 30	Speedwell	Pwllheli	Coal, tobacco, snuff, sugar, groceries, sweets, steel, garden spades, resin, pitch, chains, iron hoops, copperas, gun-powder, foreign iron, hops, miners shovels, ink, saltpetre, tar, British soft soap, sugar, raisins, English spirits
" 31	Speedwell	Beaumaris	Coal
Feb. 2	Shark	Caernarvon	English iron, steel, wooden hoops, stove grate, hops, groceries, broom stales, bake stones, sugar iron hoops, miners spades, paper, tobacco, snuff, Portugal wine, suck moulds sulphur, porter, coulters, chains, resin, paint, oilmen's ware, drugs, phials.

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo
Feb. 3	Ann	Caernarvon	Tallow candles, malt, tobacco, snuff, hoops, shovels, foreign iron, steel, groceries, Eng. iron, miners' spades, hops, tea, paper, molasses, sugar, porter, gunpowder, flour, cheese.
" 6	Morning Star	Conway	Coal
" 6	John	"	Coal, tobacco, snuff, foreign iron, English iron, suck moulds, groceries, molasses, hops, sugar, paper, rice, tar, steel porter shovels, pots and kettles, sauce pans, candy, pitch
" 6	Thomas & Mary	Liverpool	Oats
" 7	Seahorse	Beaumaris	Coal, tobacco, hops, sugar, groceries, tea, foreign iron, molasses, suck moulds, steel, pipes, hoops gunpowder, resin, cheese.
" 7	Elizabeth	London	Cheese, Lead.
" 7	Catherine	Beaumaris	Coal, Tanned hides.
" 9	Recovery	Holyhead	Coal
" 9	True Blue	Caernarvon	Coal
" 10	Sugar Loaf	Liverpool	Lead, lead ore, cheese, hardware, paper
" 12	Industry	Beaumaris	Coal
" 12	Liverpool Trader	Liverpool	Lead, lead ore, litharge, calcined calamine, rum, cast iron ware, iron crib, oak bark, tallow candles, cotton wick yarn
" 12	Molly	Bristol	Calamine
" 12	Ann and Betty	Caernarvon	Coal
" 12	Constant Trader	Bristol	Calamine
" 14	Hopewell	Caernarvon	Coal
" 14	Dove	Caernarvon	Coal
" 14	Thomas	Liverpool	Lead ore, litharge, train oil, sperma ceti oil, oak bark
" 15	Speedwell	Conway	Coal

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo
Feb.15	Peter	Liverpool	Calcined calamine, loose brass, wrought copper, iron wire, chains, paper, empty casks.
" 15	Providence	Holyhead	Coal
" 15	Molly	Cardigan	Coal
" 19	True Briton	Aberystwyth	Coal
" 21	John & Thomas	Conway	Coal
" 22	Squirrel	Beaumaris	Coal, earthenware
" 22	Peggy	Beaumaris	Iron, molasses, flour, groceries, hoops, paper, cast pans, pots and kettles, sugar, suck moulds, bakestones, hops, tea, British soft soap, nails, tallow candles, tobacco, snuff, red Portugal wine, coal
" 23	Elizabeth	Aberystwyth	Coal, fire-bricks, potatoes
" 23	Trial	Holyhead	Coal, fire-bricks, tobacco
" 23	Robert	London	Lead, cheese, iron wire, potatoes, beer, empty casks.
" 24	Trial	Holyhead	Coal, earthenware
" 26	Trial	Beaumaris	Coal
Mar. 2	Catherine	Caernarvon	Coal
" 2	Molly	Beaumaris	Coal, charcoal, red Portugal wine, white Portugal wine, tobacco, snuff, iron, pipes, suck moulds, British soft soap, paper, iron hoops, molasses, logwood, dyeing goods, flour, oil, raisins, cheese, alum, "one bundle trees", bakestones, nails, pots, hops, kettles, resin, tar, porter sugar, cast pans, spades, chains, gunpowder, Manchester goods, steel.
" 3	Betty	Liverpool	Lead, lead ore, litharge, calcined calamine
" 7	Elizabeth	Holyhead	Foreign iron, sugar, iron pots, kettles, molasses, English iron, bake stones, groceries, hops, suck moulds, madder, hoops,

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo
Mar.7	Elizabeth (continued)		paper, mops, iron grates, oil, tar, soft soap, whiting, drugs, ochre, tobacco, red Portugal wine, white Portugal wine, tallow candles, coal.
" 7	Earl of Chester	London	Feather bed, beer, mushrooms, empty sacks, iron bowlers, wearing apparel, iron stove, butter, empty casks, cheese, canvas, Potatoes, lead.
" 9	Peter	Liverpool	Lead, calcined calamine, loose brass, copper, iron wire, paper.
" 13	Prentice	London	Lead, cheese, Welsh plains
" 13	Liverpool Trader	Liverpool	Lead, shumack, Welsh plains, shoes, rigging canvas
" 15	William and Betty	Pwllheli	Coal, red Portugal wine, white Portugal wine, tobacco, English iron, molasses, sugar, apothecary ware, groceries, clover seed, dry goods, miners' spades, paper, soft soap, alum, copperas, sweets, candy, logwood, pipes.
" 17	Thomas	Liverpool	Lead, tobacco, pipe clay, cheese, shoes, stockings, wire, calcined calamine, lead ore
" 17	Mary	Liverpool	Oats
" 20	Betsey	Caernarvon	Coal
" 24	Swim	Ulverstone	"
" 24	Exeter	Exeter	"
" 24	Peter	Liverpool	Lead, brass, calcined calamine, copper, empty casks
" 30	Molly	Milford	Coal
" 31	Nelly	Holyhead	"
Apl 4	Racehorse	Bristol	Calamine
" 6	Anna Maria	Caernarvon	Coal

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo
Ap. 6	Nancy	Caernarvon	Tallow candles, tobacco, snuff, red Portugal wine, hops, sugar, paper, madder, hats, tea, gunpowder, groceries, seeds, logwood, alum, thread.
" 7	Peggy & Ann	Beaumaris	Steel, hops, scythes, groceries, spades, English iron, clover seed, pitch, tea, leather, gunpowder, oats, raisins, groceries, suck moulds, paper, foreign iron, flax, currants, bedding, red Portugal wine, white Portugal wine, rum, brandy
" 7	Ann and Betty	Caernarvon	Coal
" 7	Caesar	Beaumaris	Coal
" 7	Industry	Aberystwyth	Coal
" 9	Liverpool Trader	Liverpool	Lead, wheel spokes, iron rims, broken glass, sugar
" 9	Dolphin	Liverpool	Calcined Calamine
" 9	Prince of Wales	London	Cheese, ironware.
" 10	William and Peggy	Caernarvon	Coal
" 11	Hopewell	Barmouth	Tobacco, snuff, Portugal and Spanish wine, rum, brandy, sugar, nails, groceries, oil, anchovies, drugs, soft soap, paper, logwood, fustick,(1) shumack, dry goods, pipes.
" 12	Betty	Liverpool	Lead, litharge, lead ore, lambskins, paper, hair, leather.
" 12	Mary	Liverpool	Oats
" 14	Wilcox	London	Lead, lead ore, grey cottons, Welsh plains, iron chests, beeswax, snuff, cheese, empty casks.

(1) Fustick; a vegetable, yellow dye.

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo
Ap. 14	Peggy	Conway	Tobacco, snuff, red Portugal wine, malt, white Portugal wine, brandy, buttons, saws, cowhides, molasses, soap, groceries, sugar, copperas, tar pitch, English iron, porter, scythes, clover-seeds, groceries, miners spades, paper, suck moulds, iron hoops, alum, nails.
" 14	Trial	Holyhead	Red Portugal wine, white Portugal wine, coal, earthenware.
" 17	Herring	Beaumaris	Coal
" 17	John	Aberystwyth	"
" 17	Darling	Holyhead	"
" 17	Betty	Beaumaris	"
" 17	Recovery	Holyhead	Coal, earthenware
" 21	Providence	Bristol	Calamine, red lead
" 21	Happy Return	"	Calamine
" 24	" "	Aberdovey	Coal, earthenware
" 24	Jenny & Mary	"	Coal
" 24	Speedwell	Pwllheli	Tobacco, snuff, red Portugal wine, white Portugal wine, saws, buttons, coal, earthenware, sweets, pipes, rum, brandy, dry goods, sugar, alum, copperas, paper, miners' spades, groceries, candy, hops, clover seed, flax, drugs, oil.
" 25	Endeavour	Milford	Coal
" 25	Polly & Nancy	Beaumaris	"
" 28	Peter	Liverpool	Calcined calamine, loose brass, copper, charcoal, empty casks
" 28	Torbay	Pwllheli	Coals, earthenware
" 28	Speedwell	"	" "
May 1	Mary Ann	Caernarvon	Coal
" 1	Bostock	London	Lead, lead ore, litharge cheese
" 2	Bird	Caernarvon	Coal
" 4	Active	Aberystwyth	Coal, earthenware
" 4	Providence	Caernarvon	Coal
" 5	Mary	Cardigan	"
" 8	Black Prince	Pwllheli	"

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo
May 9	William & Mary	Caernarvon	Coal
" 9	Polly & Nancy	Beaumaris	"
" 11	Sally	Bristol	Calamine, cheese, iron chests, iron book case, copperas
" 12	John & Mary	Aberystwyth	Coal, earthenware
" 12	Speedwell	Beaumaris	Coal
" 12	King George	London	Lead, cheese, iron wire, empty casks, household goods
" 14	Two Brothers	Conway	Red Portugal wine, white Portugal wine, porter, coal, earthenware
" 15	Nancy	Caernarvon	Coal, malt, sugar
" 16	Swallow	Chichester	Lead
" 17	Liverpool	Liverpool	Lead, lead ore, white lead, red lead, calcinated calamine, guns, hatters bottoms
" 17	Hopewell	Conway	Coal
" 18	Betty	Aberystwyth	"
" 19	Peggy	Pwllheli	"
" 21	Truelove	Bristol	Calamine, potatoes, ox and cow hooves
" 21	Sugarloaf	Liverpool	Lead, lead ore
" 21	Seahorse	Beaumaris	Coal
" 25	Hope	Exeter	"
" 26	Nancy	Beaumaris	"
" 26	Elizabeth	London	Cheese, lead.
" 28	William & Jane	"	Lead ore, coal, iron guns, iron chest, cheese, empty casks, leather parings, tanned leather
" 28	Sugarloaf	Liverpool	Lead
" 30	Providence	Caernarvon	Coal
" 31	Friend's Endeavour	Mounts Bay	"
" 31	Shark	Caernarvon	"
June 4	Ann & Betty	"	"
" 5	Hopewell	Barmouth	Coal, earthenware, wool, tobacco pipes
" 5	Constant Trader	Bristol	Calamine
" 6	William & Jane	Beaumaris	Coal
" 6	Victory	Conway	English iron, Siberia iron, vinegar, soft soap, hops, iron hoops, groceries, iron

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo
	Victory (continued)		kettles, coal.
June 7	Jane	Aberdovey	Coal, tanned hides, flour, flax, copperas
" 12	Peter	Liverpool	White lead, red lead, loose brass, clay, copper, iron wire, paper
" 13	Unity	Pwllheli	Coal
" 14	Blessing	Aberystwyth	"
" 15	Dove	Caernarvon	Coal, Red Portugal wine, white Portugal wine
" 15	Nancy	Pwllheli	Coal, earthenware, English iron, molasses
" 16	Charming Jenny	"	Coal
" 16	John	Beaumaris	"
" 18	Hopewell	Conway	Coal, stones, wine, sugar
" 18	William & Peggy	Aberystwyth	Coal
" 18	Speedwell	Conway	"
" 20	Bird	Beaumaris	Coal, household goods
" 20	Grey	"	Coal
" 20	Speedwell	"	"
" 21	Speedwell	Aberystwyth	"
" 21	Prentice	London	Lead, lead ore, cheese
" 22	Nancy	Conway	Coal
" 23	Three Brothers	Liverpool	Lead ore, calcinated calamine
" 23	Robert	London	Cheese, iron wire, household goods, lead, litharge
" 23	Jenny & Peggy	Aberystwyth	Coal
" 26	Tartar	Liverpool	Lead, litharge, utensils for dyers and printers' use, books, paper, wearing apparel shumack, white Portugal wine, broken barrels, rice, empty casks, porter, guns, tallow, wine
" 26	Thomas	Liverpool	Lead, litharge, firebricks
" 28	Mary	Milford	Coal
" 28	Peter	Liverpool	Loose brass, copper, calcinated calamine, iron wire
" 29	Charming Betty	Pwllheli	Coal
" 30	Nancy	Caernarvon	"
" 30	Aberystwyth	Aberystwyth	"

Date	Name of Ship	Destination	Cargo
July 3	Speedwell	Conway	Coal, stones
" 4	Hopewell	"	" "
" 5	Charlotte	London	Lead, cheese, empty casks, Bottled beer, tanned leather
" 5	Providence	Bristol	Calamine, red lead

(ii) Incoming shipments

Date	Name of ship	Port of Origin	Cargo
Jan. 9	Catherine	Holyhead	Barley, Oats
" 9	Richard & Ann	Liverpool	Iron, hoops, kidskins, lambskins, Florence wine, raisins, cowhides, wainscot logs, clapboards, wood, linen cloth, hemp, Muscovado sugar, Irish butter, flax, tobacco, Portugal wine, brandy, rum, British spirits, bottles, pigiron.
" 23	Prentice	London	Barley, tea, haberdashery, goatskins, seeds, oil, starch, paper, salt, fish, alum, Russian bar iron, beans, sweets, peas, wheat, hemp, English spirits, vinegar, currants, raisins, pepper, sugar, hats, steel, brandy, nuts, onions, lemons oranges, herrings, saltpetre, flour, anchovies, hops, prunes, figs, beer, apothecary wares, juniper berries, British soft soap, tobacco, molasses, cyder, household goods, gunpowder
" 25	Benjamin & Lydia	Kings Lynn	Barley, oats
" 25	Earl of Chester	London	Wheat, cork, apothecary's wares, Russian bar iron, Swedish bar iron, sweets, glass, shovels, pearl ashes iron hoops, molasses, nuts, lemons, oranges, mustard,

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo
	Earl of Chester (continued)		barley, flour, seeds, candy, sugar, cream of tartar, hemp, Madeira wine, British soft soap, juniper berries, tea, shumack, cotton yarn, blue, hops, vinegar, currants, raisins harpsicord, peas, coal scuttles, British spirits, starch, gunpowder, rock-petre, oil, beer, stove
Jan 27	Speedwell	Conway	Wheat, barley, oats, peas, beans
" 27	Liverpool Trader	Liverpool	Muscovado sugar, paper, iron, tobacco, Scotch kelp
" 30	Sugar Loaf	Liverpool	Portugal wine, deals, butter, lambskins, tar, rum, porter, wheat, claret,
" 30	Constant Trader	Bristol	Currants, cork, indigo, lampblack, wooden hoops, sweets, pitch, resin, red-wood turpentine, glass, ochre, tobacco
" 31	Wilcox	London	Wheat, beans, barley, peas, flour, hemp, wax candles, lemons, oranges, nuts, oilman's wares, blue, sugar, molasses, rice, ink, stationery, slates, paste board, books, figs, pot-ashes, cork, whiting, pearl ashes, beer, seeds, oil, apothecary's wares, prunes, hops, British spirits, juniper berries, brandy, rum, Geneva wine, anchovies tobacco, snuff.
Feb. 1	Molly	Cardigan	Lead ore, empty casks, "some lumber"
" 3	Thomas & Mary	Liverpool	Deals, mahogany planks and boards
" 3	Richard & Ann	"	Tobacco, flax, pimento, ships sails canvas, cable, mahogany planks & logs, walnut planks, oak boards, anchors, pipe-staves, train oil, bar iron, linen yarn, raisins, figs, soft

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo
	Richard & Ann (continued)		soap, resin, turpentine, rum
Feb. 9	Squirrel	Beaumaris	Oats
" 13	Trial	Holyhead	"
" 14	Trial	"	Barley
" 17	Sincerity	Shoreham	Wheat
" 21	Nancy	Newhaven	"
" 22	Liverpool Trader	Liverpool	Muscovado sugar, mahogany, barley, tobacco, refined sugar, rum, flax, brandy, rice, corkwood, calves velves
" 26	Hopewell	Holyhead	Barley
" 26	Thomas	Liverpool	Tobacco, muscovado sugar, boards, deals, rum, train oil
" 26	Townsend	"	Pimento
Mar 3	Exeter	Dartmouth	Wheat, malt
" 3	Mary & Ann	London	Barley, wheat, figs, anchovies, oil, capers, American potashes, saltpetre, raisins, carroway seeds, clover seed, trefoil seed, ironmongers wares, steel, beer, lemons, oranges, nuts, sugar, brandy, British spirits, candy, garden seeds, sweets, hops, hard soap, pearl ashes.(1)
" 14	Sugar Loaf	Liverpool	Flax, deals, kelp (2) corkwood
" 16	John & Thomas	Conway	Barley
" 16	Two Brothers	Holyhead	Oats
" 16	Betty	Liverpool	Flax, wearing apparel, carpenters' tools, tar, hemp, argol, beef, oak boards, walnut boards, tobacco, lambskins, potashes, mahogany boards.

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(1) Pearl ashes:- potassium carbonate

(2) Kelp:- very impure alkali

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo
Mar.16	Peter	Liverpool	Wrought copper, iron, train oil
" 19	Industry	Chichester	Wheat flour
" 22	Racehorse	Bristol	Lampblack, paint, apothecary's wares, anchovies, glass, whitelead, cork, flour and roll brimstone, linseed oil, Florence oil, train oil, snuff.
" 24	Liverpool Trader	Liverpool	Manufactured tobacco, Muscovado sugar, pitch, tar, turpentine, Spanish wine, paper, sugar moulds wood, matting, deals
" 26	King George	London	Barley, wheat, beans, brandy, rum, paper, slates, upholstery, glass, anchovies, household goods, hams, prunes, hemp, rye, seeds, lemons, oranges, nuts, hard soap, copper, snuff, tobacco, French wine, Mountain wine, Lisbon wine, Sperma ceti candles, pewter, starch, blue, books, English spirits, flour Swedish bar iron, mats, cork, potashes, ginger, pepper, hops, rice, sweets, juniper berries, oil, molasses, beer, clover seed, candy, raisins, currants, figs, oilman's wares, apothecary ware, sugar
" 26	Thomas & Hannah	Shoreham	Wheat, barley
" 27	Nelly	Holyhead	Barley
" 29	Peggy & Ann	Beaumaris	Barley, butter
" 29	Chester Trader	Liverpool	Flax, British pigiron, olive oil, bar and rod iron, cotton wool, resin, train oil, raisins, cowhides, manufactured tobacco rum, brandy, argol,

Date	Name of ship	Port of Origin	Cargo
	Chester Trader	(Continued)	Muscovado sugar, lamb-skins, tar, wainscot, hemp, blue, mahogany, chairs pimento, mops, brushes.
Mar 31	Darling	Holyhead	Oats
Apl 2	Nancy	Beaumaris	Slates, tanned hides, tanned calf-skins, kips, horns
" 2	Catherine & Margaret	Bideford	Tobacco pipe clay
" 3	Trial	Holyhead	Barley
" 4	Elizabeth	Lynn	Wheat, rye, barley
" 5	Shark	Caernarvon	Barley, rabbit skins, bacon
" 5	Two Brothers	Liverpool	White salt
" 7	Lovely Mary	London	Flour, wheat, capers, currants, pepper, apothecary wares, prunes, pearl ashes, oil, brandy, sweets, clover seed, lemons, oranges, nuts American bar iron, Russian bar iron, haberdashery, hops, rum, sugar, English spirits, Russia, Germany and British linen, printed linen and cotton.
" 12	Sally	Bristol	Raisins, cyder, cheese, wooden hoops, tin plates, white lead, train oil, wooden toys, leather, glass, wrought iron, smiths' bellows, brushes, mops, mop sticks
" 12	Thomas	Liverpool	Flax, deals, rum, brandy, Geneva wine, white Portugal wine, British spirits, pig iron, mops, brushes, wooden hoops, cast iron, oak boards, Muscovado sugar, refined sugar, rice, pot-ashes, kelp, pimento, sugar moulds.
" 12	Active	Aberystwyth	Raisins, figs, corkwood
" 20	Hopewell	Portsmouth	Wheat, flour.
" 23	Providence	Shoreham	Barley
" 23	Nancy	"	Wheat

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo
Apl.23	Success	Portsmouth	Wheat, barley, wheat flour
" 24	William & Jane	London	Sugar, pepper, cocoa, raisins, English spirits, oilman's wares, madder, slates, vinegar, carroway seads, apothecary wares, currants, rice, glass, paper, mustard, potashes, candy, starch, sweets, molasses, upholstery, oil, cork, hemp, tobacco, snuff, brandy, drugs, hams, household goods, Russia bar iron beans, peas, lead, nuts, oranges, lemons, flour, beer, gunpowder
" 24	Crown	London	Wheat, barley, beans, peas, whiting, mops, starch, currants, seeds, sugar, upholstery, lemons, oranges, nuts, iron hoops, apothecary wares, madder, prunes, raisins, hops, rice, hemp, mats, cork, pearl ashes, oil, potashes, slates,glass, Russia and British linen, red Portugal wine, pepper, figs, rum, brandy, oilman's wares, flour, English spirit beer, molasses, clover seed
" 26	Hopewell	Wisbech	Wheat, barley
" 27	Liverpool Trader	Liverpool	Tobacco, pimento, Irish linen yarn, hemp, deals, turpentine, kelp, pig iron pipe staves, barrel staves, wooden hoops, cowhides, rum, wine, refined sugar, Muscovado sugar, barley, alum, soft soap, mops
May 4	Peter	Liverpool	Refined sugar, copper, deals, ale, rum, brandy, Geneva wine, tobacco.
" 4	Catherine	Bristol	Cork, English pig iron, hammers, currants, rolled plate iron, raisins, linseed oil, resin, pitch,

Date		Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo
May	4	Catherine (continued		red ochre, lampblack, glass, sweets, cider, logwood, peach wood, brass pans, wooden hoops, indigo, Brazil wood, wood, madder.
"	4	Darling	Beaumaris	Barley
"	9	Two Brothers	Conway	Lead ore
"	9	Charlotte	London	Barley, beer, brandy, raisins hops, sweets, haberdashery Lisbon wine, Russia bar iron oilman's wares, upholstery, molasses, paper, printed cotton, oil, household goods
"	9	Earl of Chester	London	glass, snuff, vinegar, raisins, wheat, flour, currants, apothecary wares, English spirits, lemons, oranges, sugar, flax, British linen Flour, barley, wheat, malt, Portugal wine, pork, apothecary wares, beans, haberdashery, flax, oilman's wares, hops, lemons, nuts, oranges, oil, raisin wine, Russia, Germany, British and Irish linen, alum, sugar, beer, madder, glass, British spirits, nutmegs, Russia bar iron, sweets, pepper, ginger, soft soap, raisins, gunpowder.
"	9	Industry	Chichester	Wheat flour
"	9	Tartar	Liverpool	Barley, pitch, kelp, butter, hops, flax, tobacco oil, pipe staves, rum, British spirits, wooden hoops, muscovado sugar, wool, bar iron, toys, cordage, corkwood, rice, refined sugar.
"	9	Success	Liverpool	Wheat
"	9	Chester Trader	"	Flax, tobacco, Muscovado sugar, pipestoves, rum, British spirits, refined sugar, Portugal wine, tallow candles.

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo
May 14	Betty	Bristol	Smiths bellows, hoops, cider, tin plates, rolled iron plates, steel, ochre, sweets, spades, gunpowder, tallow candles, tobacco
" 18	Friend's Endeavour	Southampton	Malt, barley, wheat flour
" 21	Arabella	London	Wheat, wooden hoops, molasses, rum, nuts, stationery, iron hoops, figs, Italian hemp, barley, Madeira wine, whiting, vinegar, oil, Russia and Germany linen, raisins, anchovies, currants, beer, seeds, flour, starch, glass, staves, lemons, oranges, English spirits, china, furniture, apothecary wares, sweets, haberdy.
" 22	Thomas	Liverpool	Brandy, hard soap, red Portugal wine, white Portugal wine, porter, muscovado sugar, kelp, pigiron, rice, pimento, calf-skins, rum, tallow, "old junk" (1) wheat, flax, hemp, mahogany, raisins, iron, currants
" 22	Prentice	London	Peas, wheat, flour, sugar, hard soap, currants, madder, white lead, raisins, beer, alum, starch, apothecary wares, tea, brandy, clover seed, gum seneca, snuff, soft soap, butter, molasses, household goods, lemons, oranges, porter, table, oil, English spirits, Russia bar iron, haberdashery, canvas, rum, potashes, pearl ashes, Brazilwood, verdigris.

(1) 8 tons old junk

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo
May 28	Thomas	London	Flour, molasses, British linen, beer, Haberdashery, vinegar, lemons, oranges, woollen cloth, rum, brandy, Geneva wine, English spirits Spar waters, apothecary wares, hops, carraway seeds, resin, Russia bar iron, glass, beach wood, madder, Portugal wine, Madeira wine, Swedish bar iron, confectionery, currants, raisins, sugar, alum, oil.
" 29	Liverpool Trader	Liverpool	Tobacco, refined sugar, resin, soft soap, rough hemp, Scotch kelp, sheep skins dressed in oil, rod iron, iron, pimento, flax, yarn, Muscovado sugar, tar, red Portugal wine, Spanish wine, Madeira wine, rum
" 30	Hopewell	Barmouth	Web, cowhair, woollen cloth, Spanish wine
June 2	Jane	Holyhead	Oats
" 13	Providence	Beaumaris	Barley, rye, grass seed
" 13	Peter	Liverpool	Wrought copper, barley, Irish butter, English bar iron, pitch, resin, tar, rum
" 16	Wilcox	London	Sugar, molasses, raisins, currants, hops, oatmeal, pepper, white lead, Portugal wine, Madeira wine, claret, old hock, strong beer, British spirits, brandy, carraway seeds, vinegar, oil, oilman's wares, iron ware, seeds, stationery, oil of vitriol, pimento, ginger, raisins, ginger, currants, alum, brushes, iron hoops, books, haberdashery, hair, powder salt-petre, apothecary wares, hemp, starch, canes, hops, rice, Russia bar iron,

Date	Name of Ship	Port of Origin	Cargo
	Wilcox (Continued)		pewter, flour, lemons, oranges, soft soap, Germany, British and Irish linen, tobacco, snuff
June18	Speedwell	Liverpool	Red Portugal wine, ale, porter
" 18	Nancy	Caernarvon	Slates, kid-skins, lamb-skins, tanned calf-skins
" 20	Chester Trader	Liverpool	Books, Muscovado sugar, pipe clay, sugar moulds, iron hoops, flax, ashes, refined sugar, Madeira wine, tobacco, white Portugal wine, train oil, Irish kelp, glue
" 26	Ridge	Poulton	Wheat flour
" 26	Prince of Wales	London	Sugar, raisins, currants, madder, molasses, rye, flour, sweets, hops, alum, haberdashery, mops, nails, apothecary wares, Russia bar iron, Swedish bar iron, hard soap, saltpetre, rice, oil, starch, carraway seeds, ironware, anchovies, candy, rum, brandy, British spirits, vinegar, Geneva wine, French wine, Portugal wine.
" 28	Nancy	Shoreham	Barley
" 28	Three Brothers	Southampton	Wheat flour, barley
" 30	Betty	Liverpool	Canvas, pig iron, calf-skins, tar, lathwood, deals, brandy, hemp, rod iron, Madeira wine, rum, porter, muscovado sugar, soap, candles, British spirits, Portugal wine, refined sugar.

IV D Cargo shipped in the Sarah, London to Chester.

The Sarah arrived in Chester, July 25, 1739 with a general cargo from London. On August 24 the Sarah cleared from Chester for London with 50 tons of cheese and 41½ tons of pig lead.

DETAILS OF CARGO SHIPPED FROM LONDON.

5 barrels of gunpowder. 1 pipe of portugal wine, 6 hogsheads, 1 hamper containing 76 dozen portugal wine. 5 hampers containing 21 dozen sherry wine. 56 hogsheads molasses. 2 hampers containing 12 gallons rum and brandy, 2 barrels snuff. 4 casks pewter ware. 2 hogsheads and 2 half hogsheads vinegar. 1 hogshead and 4 boxes groceries. 5 crates, 1 barrel, 1 basket of brushes.
45 casks containing 2142 gallons spirits.
1 case, 1 rundlet, 1 casket, 1 bundle household goods. 5 iron backs. 1 cask beer. 2 trusses, 6 reams paper. 1 butt wine. 2 boxes china.
3 casks containing 100 gallons brandy.
10 trusses 4090 ells German linen.
9 pieces 1460 ells, 1100 yards other linen
1 barrel sulpher. 1 pair shears. 1 table.
18 chairs. 2 barrels, 8 boxes tobacco. 7 barrels ½ chest soap. 4 hogsheads 1 barrel sugar. 13½ cwts hemp and flax. 8 hogsheads bone ashes.
1 hogshead 1 cask sand. 4 barrels pewter. 2 trusses Hamburg yarn. 58 bundles scale boards.
1 barrel rice. 2 baskets, 1 barrel, 4 cases, 10 boxes, 1 hogshead, 2 chests, 1 cask, 4 sacks, apothecary's wares. 2 hogsheads allom.
1 bundle warming pans. 6 tons chalk. 2 hogsheads whiting. 4 pipes, 1 hogshead, 2 barrels, 10 jars ale. 20 kegs sturgeon. 80 firkins resin. 1 box elixir, 5 trusses buckram. 1 butt capers. 1 cask pins, 2 hogsheads, 2 hogsheads, 1 bundle, 2 battons copper. 5 bundles wire. 70 half barrels gunpowder. 4½ barrels gunpowder. 1 hogshead oilman's wares. 1 half butt 3 hogsheads 33 barrels grocery.

(continued overleaf)

12 casks containing 350 gallons spirits, 1 box apothecary's wares. 1 box, 1 truss haberdashery, 3 barrels pepper. Half a load household goods 8 barrels 20 firkins rosin. 1 hamper chalk, 1 box candles. 1 hogshead, 1 butt oilman's wares. 1 cask indigo. 1 jar snuff. 1 barrel rice. 2 hogsheads, 1 barrel, 4 boxes containing 2300 lbs tobacco. 1 tierce powder 4 chests oranges and lemons, 25 faggotts and 20 half faggotts steel. 1 cask foreign brandy containing 10 gallons.

IV E Comparative Table of Exported and imported Shipments in the London trade. Lady Day and Midsummer Quarters 1720. General cargoes imported were similar to the imported cargo in the Sarah. (see Appendix IV D).

EXPORTS TO LONDON					IMPORTS FROM LONDON		
Date	Ship	Cheese Tons	Lead Tons.Cwts.	Miscellaneous	Date	Ship	Cargo
Jan 15	Dolphin	40	Nil	4 tons Bacon 2 cartloads slates	Jan	-	-
Feb 15	Kingfisher	50	5 13	-	Feb 21	Peter & Francis	General
" 15	Dove	60	5 8	-	" 18	John & Joshua	"
" 26	Chester Galley	-	32 3	4000 measures potatoes			
" 29	Cockerel	40	10 17	-	" 22	Elizabeth	"
Mar 1	August	40	10 15	1 ton wire	Mar	-	
" 5	Peter & Francis	13	38 7	400 measures Oats 15 cwts. butter			
" 8	Edward & Mary	-	67 1	10 chaldrons coal			
" 28	Knebworth	-	15 3	1500 measures Oats			
" 28	John & Joshua	40	22 15	5 tons Bacon 56 measures Oats			
" 31	Diligence	30	43 13	-			
Apl 1	Elizabeth	12	10 15	-	Apl 4	Earl	"
" 12	Richard & Henry	20	21 12				
" 13	Lancelot	50	21 12	50 flitches Bacon			
" 14	Ingolsby	-	128 15	-			
" 19	William & James	-	51 12	-			
" 30	John & Mary	-	139 12	-			
May 10	King George	-	150 13	70 qtrs 5 measures Wheat	May 2	Robert	"
" 12	Success	-	-	250 qtrs. Wheat			
" 14	Dove	60	27 10	-			
" 14	Dolphin	40	21 11	-			
" 24	King John	40	37 12	-	May 24	Skrimer & Jenkins	"
" 26	Adventure	-	43 14	-			
Jun 6	August	60	11 17	-	June 7	Peter & Francis	"
" 9	Skrimer & Jenkins	40	23 17	10 cwt. Nails	" 7	Elizabeth	"
" 17	Earl	-	112 2	2 bundles Leather 1 ton 1 cwt. Leather			

IV F TRADE WITH LIVERPOOL 1627 E 190 1333/8

(i) Inwards at Liverpool from Chester.

Ship	Burden in Tons	Cargo.
Amitie	6	Wine.
Margaret	10	Iron, pitch, lead.
Jane	5	Herrings.
Berill	40	Sheep-skins, lamb-skins, slinks, morkins.
Mary	10	Salt
Margery	5	Iron, prunes.
Margaret	5	Salt.

(ii) Outgoing at Liverpool for Chester.

Ship	Burden in Tons	Cargo.
Gift of God	10	Spanish wine, pitch, rosin, vinegar.
Margaret	6	Morkins, lamb-skins, wool, skins.
Elizabeth	8	Sheep-skins, tallow, candles.
Margaret	6	Sheep-skins, morkins, lamb-skins, calf-skins, Irish wool.
Margaret	5	Sheep-skins, morkins, lamb-skins.
Margery	6	Salted hides, sheep-skins, raw hides.
Edward	6	Sheep-skins.

III G TRADE WITH LIVERPOOL 1674 E 190 1339/21 (A Liverpool Port Book)

(i) Incoming from Chester at Liverpool.

Date	Ship	Cargo.
Jan. 12	Lyon's Whelp	Currants.
" 15	Lyon's Trunk	Coal.
" 24	Lyon's Whelp	"
Feb. 12	Hopewell	"
" 16	Dolphin	"
Mar. 10	Lyon's Whelp	"
" 11	Philip & Mary	"
" 12	Hopewell	Lead.
" 21	Phoenix	Cheese, bacon.
" 23	Mary	Lead ore.
" 31.	Hopewell	Coal.
April 3	Hopewell	Cheese, copperas.
" 4	Lyon's Trunk	Planks, muscovado sugar.
" 5	Mary	Lead.
" 15	Phoenix	Cheese.
" 22	Dolphin	Lead ore.
May 2	Matthew	Tobacco.
" 2	Mary	Copperas, alum, spirits, shumack, pitch, strong water, aquavita.
" 7	Adventure	Wine, copperas, lignum vitae, fustick, resin, maddor.
" 11	Lyon's Whelp	Planks & boards.
" 22	Bonaventure	Lead ore.
" 22	Lyon's Whelp	Coal.
" 25	Lyon's Trunk	"
" 27	Nonsuch	"
June 13	Youghal Merchant	Lead ore.
" 15	Happy Entrance	Draught cider, strong waters, paper, copperas, tobacco, aquavita, hops, whiting, English spirits, madder, starch.
" 30	Lyon's Whelp	Currants, raisins (?)
July 20	Lyon's Whelp	Joiner's timber.
" 29	Lyon's Trunk	Sugar, sugar candy, lead ore.
Aug. 10	Adventure	Lead.
" 13	Lyon's Whelp	Coal.
" 15	Lyon's Trunk	Joiner's Timber.
Sept. 5	Lyon's Trunk	Lead, soap.

Date	Ship	Cargo.
Sept.15	Lamb	Norway deals, tar.
" 22	Hopowell	Alum, copperas, potashes, oil, vinegar, tobacco, soap, Spanish wine, corn, cork, drug-store wares, turpentine, iron, ironmonger's wares, haberdashery, steel, wire, blankets, shovels, starch, grocery, molasses, madder, shumack, redwood, fustick, lampblack, resin, strong waters, paper.
Nov. 2	Lyon's Whelp	Planks, household goods.
" 14	Mercy	Lead.
Dec. 1	Mary	Lead.
" 2	Lyon's Whelp	Molasses, sugar, joiner's timber.

(ii) Outgoing at Liverpool for Chester.

Date	Ship	Cargo.
Jan. 5	Lyon's Whelp	French wine.
" 5	Samuel	Tanned calf-skins, beer.
" 27	Reformation	Leather, calf-skins, Manchester single bays, candles, beer, white herrings.
Feb. 15	Elizabeth	Butter, cheese, canvas, salt, tallow, sheeps' horns.
" 20	Lyon's Trunk	French wine.
Mar. 20	Lyon's Trunk	Sheep-skins, lamb-skins.
" 20	Judith	Brown sugar, prunes, resin.
" 27	Phoenix	Lamb-skins, sheep polts.
Apr. 8	Mary	Cowhides.
" 27	Phoenix	Cowhides, soap, tallow, barley, wheat.
" 28	Lyon's Whelp	Cowhides.
" 30	Dolphin	Tallow.
May 5	Nonsuch	Cheese.
" 8	Lyon's Trunk	Cowhides.
" 12	Hopewell	Cheese.
June 3	Lyon's Whelp	Spanish iron, train oil, tallow, brown sugar.
" 25	Nonsuch	Leather.

Date	Ship	Cargo.
July 4	Lyon's Whelp	Leather, Manchester single bays, ginger, brown sugar.
" 20	Lyon's Trunk	Rye, Virginian tobacco, brandy.
" 24	Lyon's Whelp	Virginian tobacco, malt, resin, brown sugar.
Aug. 5	Lyon's Trunk	Sheep-skins.
" 12	Adventure	Virginian tobacco.
" 14	Diamond	Tobacco, sugar.
" 22	Lyon's Trunk	Brown sugar, tallow.
Sept. 2	Supply	Tobacco.
" 5	Lyon's Whelp	Brown sugar.
" 15	Nonsuch	Cheese.
" 18	Lyon's Whelp	Brown sugar.
" 26	Hopewell	Brown sugar, brandy, cow-horns.
" 28	Mercy	Leather.
Oct. 10	Lyon (?)	Rye, Madeira wine, French wine.
Nov. 6	Lyon's Whelp	Norway deals.
Dec. 4	Happy Entrance	Alum, copper, madder, Gaules, English strong waters, tobacco, prunes, rice, starch, shumack, cork, lampblack, beans, currants, raisins, steel, wire, plates, sugar, gunpowder, aniseed, redwood, logwood, hemp, argol, flax, oil, (all part of a greater shipment which came from London by cocquet).
" 16	Lyon's Whelp	Hides, sugar, resin, ginger.

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